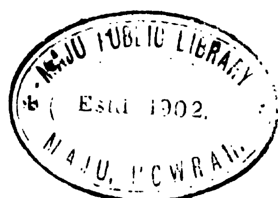


HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

THE POPES TO THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

BY HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN NINE VOLUMES.—VOL. IV.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1883.

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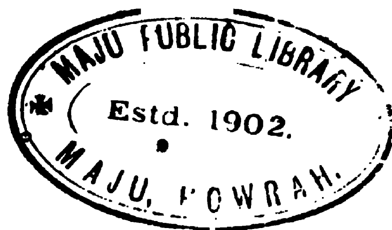
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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY

BOOK VII.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.	EMPEROR OF GERMANY.	KING OF FRANCE.	KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	KINGS OF DENMARK.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.
A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.
1073 Gregory VII. 1085 1080 (Guibert, Clement III. Antipope) 1100 1086 Victor III. 1087 1088 Urban II. 1099	1056 Henry IV. 1106	1060 Philip I. 1108	1066 William the Conqueror 1087 1087 William Rufus 1100	*Castile.* 1072 Alfonso VI., the Valiant 1108 *Arragon.* 1067 Sancho 1094 1094 Peter I. 1103	1076 Canute IV. the Saint 1086 1086 Olaus II. 1096 1096 Eric the Good.	1072 Ducas 1078 1078 Nicephorus Botoniates 1081 1081 Alexius Comnenus 1118

ARCHBISHOPS OF MILAN.	ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.	ARCHBISHOPS OF RHEIMS.	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.	EARL OF PORTUGAL.	KINGS OF NAPLES.	KINGS OF HUNGARY.
A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.	A.D. A.D.
1076 Tedaldo. Anselm 1093	1060 Siegfried 1048 1084 Wezil 1088 1088 Ruthard 1108	1068 Manasses I. 1098 1098 Rainald 1096	1070 Lanfranc 1089 1093 Anselm.	1088 Henry I. 1112	Robert Guiscard 1085 1085 Roger I. (Sicily) 1111	1063 Solomon 1074 1074 Geisa 1077 1077 Ladislaus I. 1095 1095 Koloman 1111

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

Hildebrand.

HILDEBRAND was now Pope; the great contest for the dominion over the human mind, the strife between the temporal and spiritual power, which had been carried on for some centuries as a desultory and intermitting warfare, was now to be waged boldly, openly, implacably, to the subjugation of one or of the other. Sacerdotal, or rather Papal Christianity, had not yet fulfilled its mission, for, the Papal control withdrawn, the sacerdotal rule would have lost its unity, and with its unity its authority must have dissolved away. Without the clergy, not working here and there with irregular and uncombined excitement on the religious feelings of man, awakening in one quarter a vigorous enthusiasm, while in other parts of Europe men were left to fall back into some new Christian heathenism, or into an inert habitual Christianity of form; without the whole order labouring on a fixed and determined system, through creeds sanctified by ancient reverence, and a ceremonial guarded by rigid usage: without this vast uniform, hierarchical influence, where, in those ages of anarchy and ignorance, of brute force and dormant intelligence, had been Christianity itself? And looking only to its temporal condition, what had the world been without Christianity?

Pope Gregory VII. April 22, A.D. 1073.

The Papacy.

The Papacy has still the more splendid part of its destiny to accomplish. It has shown vital power enough to recover from its seemingly irrecoverable degradation. It might have been supposed that a moral and religious depravation so profound, would utterly have destroyed that reverence of opinion, which was the one groundwork of the Papal power. The veil had been raised; and Italy at least, if not Europe, had seen within it, not a reflex of divine majesty and holiness, but an idol not only hideous to the pure moral sentiment, but contemptible for its weakness. If centuries of sanctity had planted deeply in the heart of man his veneration for the successor of St. Peter, it would have been paralysed (the world might expect) and extinguished by more than a century of odious and un-Christian vices. A spiritual succession must be broken and interrupted by such unspiritual inheritors. Could the head of Christendom, living in the most un-Christian wickedness, perpetuate his descent, and hand down the patrimony of power and authority, with nothing of that piety and goodness which was at least one of his titles to that transcendant power?

But that idea or that opinion would not have endured for centuries, had it not possessed strength enough to reconcile its believers to contradictions and inconsistencies. With all the Teutonic part of Latin Christendom, the belief in the supremacy of the Pope was coeval with their Christianity; it was an article of their original creed as much as the Redemption; their apostles were commissioned by the Pope; to him they humbly looked for instruction and encouragement, even almost for permission to advance upon their sacred adventure. Augustine, Boniface, Ebbo, Anschar, had been papal missionaries. If the faith of Italy was shaken by too

familiar a view of that which the Germans contemplated with more remote and indistinct veneration, the national pride, in Rome especially, accepted the spiritual as a compensation for the loss of the temporal supremacy; Rome had ceased to be the centre of the Imperial—it would not endure not to be that of ecclesiastical dominion. The jealousy of a Pope elected, or even born, elsewhere than in Italy, showed the vitality of that belief in the Papacy, which was belied by so many acts of violence towards individual Popes. The religious minds would be chiefly offended by the incongruity between the lives and the station of the Pope; but to them it would be a part of religion to suppress any rebellious doubts. Their souls were deeply impressed with the paramount necessity of the unity of the Church; to them the Papacy was of divine appointment, the Pope the successor of St. Peter: all secret questioning of this integral part of their implanted faith was sin. However then they might bow down in shame and sorrow at the inscrutable decrees of Heaven, in allowing its Vicegerent thus to depart from his original brightness, yet they would veil their faces in awe, and await in trembling patience the solution of that mystery. In the Christian mind in general, or rather the mind within the world of Christendom, the separation between Christian faith and Christian morality was almost complete. Christianity was a mere unreasoning assent to certain dogmatic truths, an unreasoning obedience to certain ceremonial observances. Controversy was almost dead. In the former century, the predestinarian doctrines of Gotschalk, in general so acceptable to the popular ear, had been entirely suppressed by the sacerdotal authority. The tenets of Berengar concerning the presence of Christ in the Sacrament, had been restrained, and were to be once more

restrained, by the same strong hand; and Berengar's logic was beyond his age. The Manichean doctrines of the Paulicians and kindred sects were doubtless spreading to a great extent among the lower orders, but as yet in secrecy, breaking out now in one place, now in another, yet everywhere beheld with abhorrence, creating no wide alarm, threatening no dangerous disunion. In all the vulgar of Christendom (and that vulgar comprehended all orders, all ranks) the moral sentiment, as more obtuse, would be less shocked by that incongruity which grieved and oppressed the more religious. The great body of Christians in the West would no more have thought of discussing the character of the Pope, than the attributes of God. He was to them the apostle, the vicegerent of God, enveloped in the same kind of awful mystery. They feared the thunders of the Lateran as those of heaven; and were no more capable of sound discrimination as to the limits, grounds, and nature of that authority, than as to the causes of the destructive fire from the clouds. Their general belief in the judgement to come was not more deeply rooted than in the right of the clergy, more especially the head of the clergy, to anticipate, to declare, or to ratify their doom.

The German line of Pontiffs had done much to reinvest the Papacy in its ancient sanctity. The Italian Alexander II. had been at least a blameless Pontiff; and now every qualification which could array the Pope in imposing majesty, in what bordered on divine worship, seemed to meet in Gregory VII. His life verified the splendid panegyric with which he had been presented by Cardinal Hugo to the Roman people. He had the austerest virtue, the most simple piety, the fame of vast theologic knowledge, the tried ability to rule men, intrepidity which seemed to delight

Character.

in confronting the most powerful; a stern singleness of purpose, which, under its name of Churchmanship, gave his partisans unlimited reliance on his firmness and resolution, and yet a subtle policy which bordered upon craft. To them his faults were virtues; his imperiousness the due assertion of his dignity; his unbounded ambition zeal in God's cause: no haughtiness could be above that which became his station. The terror by which he ruled (he was so powerful that he could dispense with love), as it was the attribute of the Divinity now exclusively worshipped by man, so was it that which became the representative of God on earth.

Birth and youth of Hildebrand.

Hildebrand, if not a Roman by birth, was an adopted Roman by education. He was of humble origin; so humble as to be obscure, almost doubtful. His father was a carpenter in Saona, a small town on the southern border of Tuscany. His name implies a Teutonic descent, though later adulation allied it with the great Roman house, the Aldobrandini. His later glory, as usual, cast back a preternatural splendour on his early life: prognostics of his future greatness began to embellish the dark years of his infancy and youth. His youth was passed in a monastic house in Rome, St. Mary on the Aventine, of which his uncle was abbot. That abbot, named Laurence, if the same who was afterwards Archbishop of Amalfi, was a man of ability and reputation. The disposition of Hildebrand was congenial to his education. He was a monk from his boyhood. Mortification in the smallest things taught him that self-command and rigour which he was afterwards to enforce on himself and on mankind: it was his self-imposed discipline, perhaps his pride, to triumph over every indulgence of the senses, even on the most

trivial occasions. His sternness to others was that which throughout life he exercised upon himself.

Rome was no favourable school for monastic perfection; yet perhaps the gross and revolting licentiousness of the city, and the abuses in the monastic system, which, whether they had penetrated or not into the sanctuary on the Aventine, by exciting the abhorrence of the devout Hildebrand may have hardened his austerity. The alternative to a Roman monk was between shameless profligacy and the extremest rigour; and Hildebrand would not be outdone in the holier course. But arrived at manhood, he determined to seek some better school for his ardent devotion, and to suppress, by travel and by study in some more safe retreat, the yet mutinous passions of his adolescence. There were still, in the general degeneracy of the monastic institutes, some renowned for their sanctity. At no period have been wanting men, who carried out to the utmost, who aimed at surpassing, the severe rules of Benedict or Columban. Among these was Odilo, abbot of Clugny, in Burgundy, the great Reformer of the monastic life in France. The situation of this monastery was beautiful. Hildebrand here found a retreat among brethren, whose asceticism might test his most rigorous power of self-discipline. The studies which he had commenced with promising success at Rome, proceeded rapidly in the peaceful shades of Clugny. Hildebrand soon became master of all the knowledge of the times; and perhaps at no period was in greater danger of abandoning the lofty destiny for which he seemed born. Where there was such depth of devotion there must have been strong temptation to remain, and to permit that devotion to luxuriate undis-

Hildebrand in Clugny.

turbed and uninterrupted. Hildebrand might have been content to live and die the successor of Odilo of Clugny, not of the long line of Roman Pontiffs.

But holy retirement was not the vocation of his busy and energetic spirit. Hildebrand is again in Rome; he is attached to that one of the three conflicting Popes, whose cause would doubtless have been espoused by a man of devout feeling, and rigidly attached to canonical order. When Gregory VI., compelled to abdicate the Papacy, retired into Germany, he was followed by Hildebrand; on Gregory's death Hildebrand returned for a short time to his beloved retreat at Clugny.

A.D. 1047.

But during all this period, as a resident in France and in Germany, he was acquiring that knowledge of men and of affairs, which he was hereafter to employ in his great scheme of dominant churchmanship. It was the Italian and the Churchman surveying the weakness of the enemy's position. From Clugny he emerged, having cast his spell on the congenial mind of Leo IX., and admonished him to maintain the dignity and independence of the Papal election. From this time he was Pope, or becoming so. On every great occasion he was the legate: he was commissioned to encounter and suppress the daring Berengar; he was, no doubt, the adviser of Nicolas II. in the change of the Roman policy, the assumption of the power of election by the Cardinals, and the Norman alliance. He created Alexander II., and discomfited his rival, Cadalous. The strongest indication, indeed, of his superiority, his prophetic consciousness of his own coming greatness, was the self-command with which he controlled his own ambition. There was no eager or premature struggle for advancement; offices, honours, laid themselves at

A.D. 1048.

his feet. He was content to labour in a subordinate capacity, to have the substance without the pomp of authority, the influence without the dignity of the Papal power. For a long period in the Papal annals, Hildebrand alone seems permanent. Pope after Pope dies, disappears; Hildebrand still stands unmoved, or is rising more and more to eminence. The Italian might even seem to trust, not without stern satisfaction, to the fatal climate of his country, to wear out the rapid succession of German pontiffs, who yet were rendering the great service of regenerating the Popedom. One by one they fall off, Clement, Damasus, Leo, Victor, Nicolas. The only one who rules for ten years is the Italian, Alexander II.

Damiani.

While Hildebrand was thus rising to the height of power, and becoming more and more immersed in the affairs of the world, which he was to rule, his aged colleague in one of his important missions, the suppression of the married clergy in Lombardy, Peter Damiani, beheld his progress with amazement, with friendly terror and regret. The similitude and contrast between these two men is truly characteristic of the age. Damiani was still a monk at heart; he had been compelled by Pope Stephen, his persecutor, as he called him, rather than his patron, to take upon him the episcopate. He had been invested by the same gentle violence in the rank of a Cardinal; and in that character had wrought his temporary triumph in Milan. Already had he addressed an earnest argument to Pope Nicolas II., to be allowed to abdicate the weary, unthankful, unmonastic office. Damiani saw the monk, in all but its personal austerity, departing from the character of Hildebrand. Hildebrand could not comprehend the pusillanimity, and, as it were, spiritual

selfishness with which Damiani, in anxious apprehension for his own soul, would withdraw from the world, which himself would confront and cope with, not seek his safety in cowardly flight. Damiani trembled even for the stern virtue of Hildebrand, when raised to the pomp, and at least able to command the luxuries of a magnificent prelate. His argument is a bitter satire against the Bishops, and, of course, the still loftier dignitaries of the Church. "What would the bishops of old have done, had they to endure the torments which now attend the episcopate? To ride forth constantly attended by troops of soldiers, with swords and lances; to be girt about with armed men, like a heathen general! Not amid the gentle music of hymns, but the din and clash of arms! Every day royal banquets, every day parade! The table, loaded with delicacies, not for the poor, but for voluptuous guests; while the poor, to whom the property of right belongs, are shut out, and pine away with famine."[a]

From that time Gregory and Damiani trod their opposite paths: Damiani to subdue the world within himself[b] with more utter aversion, more concentered determination; Hildebrand to subdue the world without—how far within his own heart God alone may judge.

The first, the avowed object of Gregory's pontificate, was the absolute independence of the clergy, of the Pope, of the great prelates throughout Latin Christen-

[a] In one passage Damiani declares no single clerk fit to be a bishop; one is a little better (meliusculum) than another. The Bishop of Fano he calls "latro Fanensis."—Opuscul.

[b] See Damiani's black account of the sins which he had to struggle against. Those which clung to him were scurrility (Damiani was not wanting in self-knowledge) and *disposition to laughter*.—Epist. v. 2.

dom, down to the lowest functionary, whose person was to become sacred; that independence under which lurked the undisguised pretension to superiority. His remote and somewhat more indistinct vision, was the foundation of a vast spiritual autocracy in the person of the Pope, who was to rule mankind by the consentient, but subordinate authority of the clergy throughout the world. For this end the clergy were to become still more completely a separate, inviolable caste; their property equally sacred with their persons. Each in his separate sphere, the Pope above all and comprehending all, was to be sovereign arbiter of all disputes; to hold in his hands the supreme mediation in questions of war and peace; to adjudge contested successions to kingdoms; to be a great feudal lord, to whom other kings became Beneficiaries. His own arms were to be chiefly spiritual, but the temporal power was to be always ready to execute the ecclesiastical behest against the ungodly rebels who might revolt from its authority; nor did the Churchman refuse altogether to use secular weapons, to employ armies in its own name, or even to permit the use of arms to the priesthood.

Views of Hildebrand.

For this complete isolation of the hierarchy into a peculiar and inviolable caste was first necessary the reformation of the clergy in two most important preliminary matters; the absolute extirpation of the two evils, which the more rigid churchmen had been denouncing for centuries, to the suppression of which Hildebrand had devoted so much of his active energies. The war against simony and against the concubinage of the clergy (for under this ill-sounding name was condemned all connexion, however legalised, with the female sex), must first be carried to a triumphant

Hierarchical caste.

issue, before the Church could assume its full and uncontested domination.

Like his predecessors, like all the more high-minded Churchmen, Hildebrand refused to see that simony was the inevitable consequence of the inordinate wealth of the clergy. It was a wild moral paradox to attempt to reconcile enormous temporal possessions and enormous temporal power, with the extinction of all temporal motives for obtaining, all temptations to the misuse of, these all-envied treasures. Religion might at first beguile itself into rapacity, on account of the sacred and beneficent uses to which it designed to devote wealth and power. Works of piety and charity might, for a short time, with the sacred few, be the sole contemplated, sole sought object. But rapacity would soon throw off the mask and assume its real character. Personal passions and desires would intrude into the holiest sanctuary. Pious works would become secondary, subordinate, till at last they would vanish from the view; ambition, avarice, pride, prodigality, luxury, would, by degrees, supplant those rare and singular virtues. The clergy had too much power over public opinion themselves to submit to its control; they awed mankind—were under awe to none. In the feudal system, which had been so long growing up throughout Western Europe, bishops had become, in every respect, the equals of the secular nobles. In every city the bishop, if not the very first of men, was on a level with the first: without the city he was lord of the amplest domains. Archbishops almost equalled kings; for who would not have coveted the station and authority of a Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, rather than that of the feeble Carlovingian monarch? The citizen might well be jealous of the superior opulence and influence of

Simony.

the priest; even the rustic, the serf, might behold, not without envy, his son or his brother (for from this sacerdotal caste there was no absolute exclusion either in theory or practice of the meanest) enjoying the security, the immunities, the respect paid even to the most humble orders of the clergy. And so it was throughout the whole framework of society. But if this was the nobler part of the democratic constitution of the Church, that it was a caste not of birth or race, it had its countervailing evils. There was a constant temptation; a temptation growing in proportion to its privileges and immunities; a temptation which overleaped, or trampled down every barrier, to enter the Church from unhallowed motives. The few who assumed the sacred office with high and pure and perfectly religious views, became comparatively fewer. Men crowded into it from all quarters, and seized at once on its highest and its almost menial offices. That which had been obtained by unworthy means, or for unworthy motives, would be employed for no higher ends. We have seen the Barbarians forcing their way into the sacred ranks, and bringing with them much of their barbarity. Charlemagne himself had set the example of advancing his natural sons to high ecclesiastical dignities. His feebler descendants, even the more pious, submitted to the same course from choice or necessity. The evil worked downwards. The Bishop, who had bought his see, indemnified himself by selling the inferior prebends or cures. What was so intrinsically valuable began to have its money-price; it became an object of barter and sale. The layman who purchased holy orders bought usually peace, security of life, comparative ease. Those who aspired to higher dignities soon repaid themselves for the outlay, however large and extortionate. For several

centuries, Pope after Pope, Council after Council, had continued to denounce this crime, this almost heresy. The iteration, the gradually increasing terrors of their anathemas, show their inefficacy. While the ambitious churchmen on the one hand were labouring to suppress it, by the still accumulating accessions to their power and wealth they were aggravating the evil. At this period, not merely the indignant satire of the more austere, but graver history and historical poetry, even the acts and decrees of Councils declare that, from the Papacy down to the lowest parochial cure, every spiritual dignity and function was venal. The highest bishops confessed their own guilt; the bishopric of Rome had too often been notoriously bought and sold. Sometimes, indeed, but not always, it condescended to some show of decency. Simony might veil itself under the appearance of ordinary and ancient usage. The universal feudal practice of making offerings to the sovereign, or to the liege lord, or even largesses to the people, at every act of promotion, grant, or enfranchisement, might seem to justify these donations, at first honorary and voluntary, at length exacted as a tribute, with unscrupulous rapacity. With this was connected the whole famous question of investiture.

But however disguised, simony from its odious name was acknowledged to be a crime and a sin.[c] It undermined the power and authority of the clergy. The priest or bishop labouring under this imputation was held up, by the decrees of Popes and Councils, as an

[c] Tedaldo, Bishop of Arezzo, so detested simony, that he would have become a simoniac Pope himself to root out the sin; at least, so says Donizo, the panegyrist of the Countess Matilda:—

"Ipsos detestans dicebat mente modestâ
Mille libras certè pro Papatu dare vellem.
Ut quod ego glisco simoniacos maledictos
Ejicerem cunctos per totum denique mundum."—l. 5.

object of hatred and contempt, rather than of respect. But beyond this the vast possessions which tempted to simony were endangered by its inevitable consequences. While the clergy were constantly working on the fears of men to increase their own wealth, the only reprisal in the power of the laity was through the venality of the clergy. It was their only means of rescuing some part of their property from the all-absorbing cupidity of those who made it their duty to secure, in theory for God and for pious uses, but too often for other ends, very large proportions of the land throughout Latin Christendom. According to the strict law, the clergy could receive everything, alienate nothing. But the frequent and bitter complaints of the violent usurpation, or the fraudulent alienation by the clergy themselves, of what had been church property, show that neither party respected this sanctity when it was the interest of both to violate it.[d] While, on the one hand, the clergy extorted from the dying prince or noble some important grant, immunity, or possession, the despoiled heir would scruple at no means of resuming his alienated rights or property. The careless, the profligate, the venal, the warlike bishop or abbot, would find means, if he found advantage, to elude the law; to surrender gradually and imperceptibly; to lease out the land so as to annihilate its value to the Church; to grant in perpetuity for trifling compensations or for valueless service, the coveted estate; and so to relax the inexorable grasp of the

[d] Muratori describes well this struggle: "Metebant jugi labore in sæcularium campis clerici, ac præcipue monachi; vicissim vero et sæculares nihil intentatum relinquebant, ut messem ab ecclesiasticis congestam, in horrea sua leviori interdum negotio deducerent. Propterea quamvis universam pene tellurem absorbere posse ac velle videretur cleri utriusque industria, plura sacris locis erepta quam relicta fuisse."—Ant. It. Diss. lxxxii.

Church. His own pomp and expenditure would reduce the ecclesiastic to the wants and subterfuges of debtors and of bankrupts; and so the estates would, directly or circuitously, return either to the original or to some new owner.

With this universal simony was connected, more closely than may at first appear, the other great vice of the age, as it was esteemed by Hildebrand and his school, the marriage of the clergy. Few of these men, actuated only by religious motives, by the stern, dominant spirit of monasticism in their refusal of this indulgence to the priesthood, may have had the sagacity to discern the real danger arising to their power from this practice. The celibacy of the clergy was necessary to their existence, at the present period, as a separate caste. The clergy, in an advanced period of civilisation, may sink into ordinary citizens; they may become a class of men discharging the common functions of life, only under a stronger restraint of character and of public opinion. As examples of the domestic, as of the other virtues; as training up families in sound morals and religion, they are of inappreciable advantage; they are a living remonstrance and protest against that licentiousness of manners which is the common evil of more refined society. But the clergy of this age, necessarily a caste, would have degenerated from an open, unexclusive caste, to a close and hereditary one.[e] Under the feudal system, everything, from the throne to the

[e] See in Damiani a frightful story of a bishop in Marsia, who had a son by a concubine, whom he substituted for himself in his bishopric. He himself coveted the monastery of Casino, hired assassins to pluck out the abbot's eyes, and send the reeking proofs of the murder to him. He died, however, suddenly at the moment that the abbot was being blinded. True or false, Damiani believed the story.—Epist. iv. 8.

meanest trade, had a hereditary tendency. The benefices, originally revocable at the will of the liege lord, were becoming patrimonies; rank, station, distinction, descended from father to son: the guilds, if they were beginning to be formed in towns, were likewise hereditary. The son followed the trade, and succeeded to the tools, the skill of his parent. But hereditary succession once introduced into the Church, the degeneracy of the order was inevitable; the title to its high places at least, and its emoluments, would have become more and more exclusive: her great men would cease to rise from all ranks and all quarters.[f]

Hereditary succession, we have said, and the degeneracy of the order were inseparable. Great as were the evils inevitable from the dominion of the priesthood, if it had become in any degree the privilege of certain families that evil would have been enormously aggravated; the compensating advantages annulled. Family affections and interests would have been constantly struggling against those of the Church. Selfishness, under its least unamiable form, would have been ever counteracting the lofty and disinterested spirit which still actuated the better Churchmen; one universal nepotism—a nepotism, not of kindred, but of parentage—would have preyed upon the vital energies of the

[f] "Ampla itaque prædia, ampla patrimonia, et quæcunque bona possunt, de bonis ecclesiæ, neque enim aliunde habent, infames patres infamibus filiis acquirunt. Et ut liberi non per rapinam appareant, volunt enim in terrâ rapere libertatem, ut diabolus in cœlo voluit deitatem, in militiam eos mox faciunt transire nobilium."—Concil. Papiens. A.D. 1022. Mansi, xix.; Pertz, Leg. ii. 561. Compare Theiner, i. 457. It was prohibited, but vainly prohibited, to receive the sons of priests into orders. Gerhard, Bishop of Lorch, asks Pope Leo VII. whether it was lawful; the Pope decided that the sons must not bear the sins of their fathers.—Labbe, ix., sub. ann. 937. Compare Planck, iii. p. 601.

order. Every irreligious occupant would either have endeavoured to alienate to his lay descendants the property of the Church, or bred up his still more degenerate descendants in the certainty of succession to their patrimonial benefice.[g]

Yet celibacy may be the voluntary self-sacrifice of an individual, it may be maintained for a time by mutual control and awe; by severe discipline; by a strong corporate spirit in a monastic community. But in a low state of morals as to sexual intercourse, in an order recruited from all classes of society, not filled by men of tried and matured religion; in an order crowded by aspirants after its wealth, power, comparative ease, privileges, immunities, public estimation; in an order superior to, or dictating public opinion (if public opinion made itself heard); in a permanent order, in which the

[g] Ratherius of Verona, a century earlier (he died 974), declaims against this hereditary priesthood. He had already asserted, "Quam perdita tonsuratorum universitas tota, ut nemo in eis qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenoquita. Adulter enim nobis est, qui contra canones uxorius est." He declares that there were priests and deacons not only bigami, but trigami et quadrigami. "Presbyter vero aut diaconus uxorem legitimam non possit habere. Si filium de ipsâ fornicatione, vel quod pejus est, adulterio, genitum facit presbyterum, ille iterum suum, suum alter iterum; pullulans illud usque in finem sæculi taliter adulterium, cujus est, nisi illius qui illud primitus seminavit? Quocirca monendi et obsecrandi fratres, ut quia prohiberi, proh dolor! a mulieribus valetis nullo modo, filios de vobis generatos dimitteretis saltem esse laicos, filias laicis jungeretis, ut vel in fine saltem vestro terminaretur, et nusquam in finem sæculi duraret adulterium vestrum."—De Nuptu cujusdam illicito, ap. d'Achery, i. pp. 370, 1. The Synod of Worms thus writes of the object of Hildebrand's law: "Causa legis est, ne ecclesiarum opes collectæ per sacerdotum matrimonia et liberos rursus diffluerent." The same complaints are made in England as late as the reign of Henry II. (Epist. Gul. Folliott, 361-362). So little effect had the measures of Gregory and his successors, that Folliott excuses Pope Alexander III. for not carrying out the law: "Si vero prorsus vitium extirpatum non est, id non imputandum sibi sed magis delinquentium multitudini, vixque, vel nunquam, abolendæ consuetudini."—Document Hist. apud Giles, vol. ii. p. 237.

degeneracy of one age would go on increasing in the next, till it produced some stern reaction; in an order comparatively idle, without social duties or intellectual pursuits; in an order not secluded in the desert, but officially brought into the closest and most confidential relations as instructors and advisers of the other sex, it was impossible to maintain real celibacy;[h] and the practical alternative lay between secret marriage, concubinage without the form of marriage, or a looser and more corrupting intercourse between the sexes.

Throughout Latin Christendom, throughout the whole spiritual realm of Hildebrand, he could not but know there had been long a deep-murmured, if not an avowed doubt, as to the authority of the prohibitions against the marriage of the clergy; where the dogmatic authority of the Papal canons was not called in question, there was a bold resistance, or a tacit infringement of the law. Italy has been seen in actual, if uncombined, rebellion from Calabria to the Alps. The whole clergy of the kingdom of Naples has appeared, under Nicolas II., from the highest to the lowest, openly living with their lawful wives. Still earlier, we have seen Leo IX. contesting, and it should seem in

Married clergy in Italy.

[h] It is impossible entirely to suppress all notice of other evils which arose out of, and could not but arise out of the enforced celibacy of the clergy, a barbarous clergy, an unmarried clergy, not, throughout the order, under the very strong control of a vigilant and fearless public opinion. Damiani's odious book has been already named; its name is enough. Damiani saw not that, by his own measures, he was probably making such a book almost necessary in future times. In the Council of Metz, 898, a stronger prohibition is needed than against wives and concubines. "Nequaquam in sua domo secum aliquam fœminam habeant, nec matrem, nec sororem; sed auferentes omnem occasionem Satanæ . . ."—Can. v. That of Nantes gives more plainly the cause of the prohibition: "Quia instigante diabolo, etiam in illis scelus frequenter perpetratum reperitur, aut etiam in pedissequis illorum, scilicet matrem, amitam sororem." A.D. 895.

vain, this undisguised license in Rome itself.[l] Milan and other Lombard cities, and Florence, had withstood authority, eloquence, popular violence, even the tribunitian fury of ecclesiastical demagogues; they were silenced, but neither convinced nor subdued. The married clergy were still, if for the present cowed, a powerful faction throughout Italy; they were awaiting their time of vengeance.[k] Ravenna, if she had now fallen into comparative obscurity, and was not, as far as appears, so deeply committed in the strife, yet preserved in her annals (perhaps from the days of her Greek Exarchate) the memory of saintly prelates who had asserted the right of marriage.[m] The memory of the married Pope, Hadrian II., was but recent.

In Germany the power and influence of the married clergy will make itself felt, if less openly proclaimed,

[l] See quotation, vol. iii. p. 429, from Gulielmus Appulus. See pp. 440-474, with quotations from Peter Damiani and the biographer of S. Gualberto.

[k] The best testimony for the whole of Italy, including Rome (even beyond the declamations of Damiani), is the statement of the more sober Pope Victor in his Dialogues. "Itaque cum vulgus clericorum per viam effrænatæ licentiæ, nemine prohibente, graderetur, cœperunt ipsi presbyteri et diacones (qui tradita sibi sacramenta Dominica mundo corde castoque corpore tractare debebant), laicorum more uxores ducere susceptosque filios hæredes relinquere. Nonnulli etiam episcoporum, verecundiâ omni contemptâ, cum uxoribus domo simul in unâ habitare. Et hæc pessima et execranda consuetudo intra Urbem maximè pullulabat, unde olim religionis norma ab ipso Apostolo Petro ejusque successoribus ubique diffusa processerat."—Max. Biblioth. Patr. xviii. Compare Bonizo apud Œfel. Rer. Boic. Script. ii. 799.

[m] Compare Agnelli, Vit. Pontif. Ravennat. "Sed quærendum nobis est cur iste conjugatus talem egregiam obtinuit sedem. Si intelligatis auctorem Apostolum dicentem, unius uxoris virum, et filios habentem, episcopos ordinari recte providetur, cum et hoc Canones præceperint."—P. 113. Saint Severus was married, when Archbishop of Ravenna, according to a life written about this time. "Sicut enim ciborum edulio non polluitur homo, nisi insidiatrix concupiscentia præcedit, sic quoque legali conjugio non inquinatur Christianus, qui se nullatenus vel virginitatis vel continentiæ alligarit."—Compare p. 192, where the example of Peter is alleged. The saint abstained when archbishop.—Ibid., p. 189.

as a bond of alliance with the Emperor and the Lombard prelates. The famous letter of Ulric, Bishop of Augsburg, to Pope Nicolas I.,[n] had already boldly asserted the Teutonic freedom in this great question. Ulric had urged with great force the moral and scriptural arguments; and sternly contrasted the vices of the unmarried with the virtues of the married clergy. Adelbert, the magnificent Archbishop of Bremen, almost conceded the marriage of the clergy to avoid worse evils; the statesman prevailed over the prelate.[o] Gregory himself had to rebuke the Archbishop of Saltzburg for his remissness in not correcting the uncleanness of his clergy (a phrase which may be safely interpreted, not separating them from their wives), the Bishop of Constance for being indulgent to such flagitious courses.[p]

Married clergy in Germany.

Among the detested and incorrigible offences which drove Saint Adalbert in indignation from his bishopric of Prague, were the marriage of the clergy and the polygamy of the laity.[q]

There is no reason to suppose the marriage of the

[n] Apud Eccard, Hist. Med. Ævi, ii. p. 26. I see no just grounds to doubt the authenticity of this letter, though it contains a very foolish story. Compare Shroeck, xxii. p. 533. "Quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui eorum episcopi videlicet et archidiaconi ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum, proh pudor! sciant abhorrere concubitus, quod casta clericorum conjugia dicunt fœtere." Some assert this letter to be a forgery of this period.

[o] Audivimus cum sæpenumero Adelbertus clerum suum de continentiâ hortaretur, Admoneo vos, inquit, et postulans jubeo, ut pestiferis mulierum vinculis absolvamini, aut si ad hoc non potestis cogi, saltem cum verecundiâ vinculum matrimonii custodite, secundum illud quod dicitur, Si non castè tamen cautè."—Scoliast. in Adam. Brem. iii. 32, apud Lindenbrog, p. 41.

[p] Regest. i. 30, Nov. 15, 1073, and Udalric Bab. apud Eccard. "Quod pœnam libidinis laxaverit, ut qui mulierculis se inquinaverint in flagitio persisterent."—Dec. 1074.

[q] In 990. Cosmas Pragensis, v. S Adalbert, p. 77.

clergy less common in France, though it had either the good fortune, or the prudence, not to come into such bold and open collision with the stern Reformer. The French councils denounce the crime as frequent, notorious. That of Bourges had threatened to deprive the married priests, deacons, and subdeacons, if they did not give up all connexion with their wives or concubines.[r] Under Gregory VII. the Bishop of Toul is accused, it is true, by a refractory clerk, of living publicly with a concubine, by whom he had a son.[s]

In France.

In Normandy—if there were priests so early of Norman descent—the fierceness of the conqueror, the Teutonic independence; if the priesthood were of the old Frankish race, the long years of anarchy, had broken down or so dissolved all the old bonds of law and order, that even bishops openly lived with their wives, and sate proudly in the midst of their sons and daughters.[t] When Herluin, the founder of the monastery of Bec, betook himself to monastic life, an unmarried priest or bishop was hardly to be found in

In Normandy.

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[r] Canon. v. [s] Regest. ii. 10.

[t] "Tunc quippe in Neustriâ post adventum Normannorum, in tantum dissoluta erat castitas clericorum, ut non solum presbyteri sed etiam præsules libere uterentur thoris concubinarum, et palam superbirent multiplici propagine filiorum et filiarum. Tunc ibidem (Remis) generale concilium tenuit (Leo IX.) et inter reliqua ecclesiæ commoda, quæ constituit, presbyteris arma ferre et conjuges habere prohibuit. Exinde consuetudo lethalis paulatim exinaniri cœpit. Arma quidem ferre presbyteri jam patienter desiere; sed a pellicibus *adhuc nolunt* abstinere, nec pudicitiæ inservire."—Orderic. Vital., apud Duchesne, p. 372. "Rarus in Normanniâ tunc rectæ tramitis aut index aut prævius erat: sacerdotes et summi pontifices *libere conjugati*, et arma portantes, ut laici."—Vit. S. Herluin, apud Lanfranc. Oper., p. 263. "Multum contra impudicos presbyteros pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit, a quibus dum in synodo concubinas eis sub anathema prohiberet, lapidibus percussus aufugit, fugiensque ab ecclesiâ, 'Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam,' fortiter clamavit." — Orderic. Vital., A.D. 1069-1079.

Normandy. Leo IX., as has been seen, in vain denounced, at his Council at Rheims, the martial and married prelates. They gave up reluctantly their arms; nothing would induce them to yield their wives. The Archbishop of Rouen daring, in a public synod, to prohibit under anathema the priests to retain those whom he opprobriously called their concubines, was overwhelmed with a shower of stones, and driven out of the Church.

Among the Anglo-Saxon clergy before Dunstan, marriage was rather the rule, celibacy the exception.[u] In older Anglo-Saxon Britain monasticism itself had but seldom aspired either to the dreamy quietude of the East, or the passionate and excessive austerity of the West: it was a religious profession, no more. The monks attached to most of the cathedrals lived under a kind of canonical rule, but were almost universally married. In the richer conventual foundations ruled mostly, as in France, noble and warlike abbots, and noble abbesses; they took no vow of chastity; they married or remained unmarried at their will.[x] The only true monks were the Benedictines, who had been introduced by Bishop Wilfrid. They were chiefly in the northern kingdoms, but throughout England these monasteries had been mercilessly wasted by the Danes: a white cowl was as rare as a ghost. When Dunstan began his career there were true monks only at Abingdon and Glastonbury.

[u] Kemble, ii. pp. 441-741.

[x] "Monasteria nempe Angliæ ante Reformationem a Dunstano et Edgaro rege institutam, totidem erant conventus clericorum sæcularium; qui amplissimis possessionibus dotati et certis sibi invicem regulis astricti, officia sua in ecclesiis quotidiè frequentarunt; omnibus interim aliorum clericorum privilegiis, *atque ipsâ uxores ducendi licentiâ gaudebant.*"—Wharton, Anglia Sacra, i. p. 218.

[y] Theiner, p. 530.

In England.

An English historian may be permitted to dwell somewhat more at length on this great question in Anglo-Saxon Britain. A century before Gregory VII., the Primate Odo, and after him Dunstan, had devoted themselves to work that which they too deemed a holy revolution.

Dunstan.

Dunstan's life was a crusade, a cruel, unrelenting, yet but partially successful crusade against the married clergy, which in truth comprehended the whole secular clergy of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Dunstan was, as it were, in a narrower sphere, among a ruder people, a prophetic type and harbinger of Hildebrand. Like Hildebrand, or rather like Damiani doing the work of Hildebrand, in the spirit, not of a rival sovereign, but of an iron-hearted monk, he trampled the royal power under his feet. The scene at the coronation of King Edwy, excepting the horrible cruelties to which it was the prelude, and which belong to a more barbarous race, might seem to prepare mankind for the humiliation of the Emperor Henry at Canosa.

Archbishop Odo was the primary author, Dunstan the agent, in the outrage on the royal authority at the coronation of young Edwy. Odo was a Dane; had been a warrior: in him the conquering Dane and the stern warrior mingled with the imperious churchman.[z] Dunstan not from his infancy, but from his youth, had been self-trained as a monk. In Dunstan were moulded together the asceticism almost of an Eastern anchorite (his cell would hardly give free room for his body, yet

[z] Among the constitutions of Archbishop Odo was the emphatic one: "Ammonemus regem et principes et omnes qui in potestate sunt ut cum magnâ reverentiâ Archiepiscopo et omnibus aliis episcopis obediant."—Const. ii., Wilkins, sub ann. 943. "Nec alicui liceat censum ponere super ecclesiam Dei."

his cell was not only his dwelling, it was his workshop and forge), with some of the industry and accomplishments of a Benedictine. He wrought in iron, in ivory, in the precious metals; practised some arts of design; it is said that he copied manuscripts. Odo became Primate of England. Dunstan at first refused a bishopric: he was Abbot of Glastonbury. The admiring, the worshipping monkish biographers of Dunstan, while they have laboured to heighten him to the glory of a saint, have unconsciously darkened him into one of the most odious of mankind. Their panegyric and their undesigned calumny must be received with doubt and reservation. Among the perpetual miracles with which they have invested his whole career, some are so awkwardly imagined as to suggest to the most candid an inevitable suspicion of fraud.

With them it was holy zeal (and zeal it doubtless was, how far leavened with harshness and pride, who shall know?) which sent Dunstan, at the Primate's order, to drag forth the boy monarch of sixteen from the arms of his wife, back into the banquet-hall of his nobles, who were said to have held themselves insulted by his early withdrawal from their boisterous conviviality. The searing the face of the beautiful Elgiva with a red-hot iron, on her return from her exile in all her beauty and influence; the ham-stringing the unhappy woman; the premature death of Edwy, are related, not merely without compassion, but with a kind of savage triumph, by men in whose hearts not only the affections, but the humanity of our nature have been crushed out by their stern discipline.[a]

[a] Even in our own day the sympathies of such a man as Dr. Lingard are not with the victims, but with the churchmen. He labours to show that Elgiva was not a wife, but a concubine (she was connected probably

The scene at Calne, when the great question between the monastic and secular clergy, it might almost be said the celibate and married clergy, was on the issue before the great national council; when the whole of the seats filled by the adverse party fell with a crash, and buried many of them in the ruins, was so happily timed, that although it might have been fortuitous (with the monks of course it was providential, miraculous), it is difficult not to remember Dunstan's mastery over all the mechanic skill of the day.[b]

But whatever the apparent triumph of Dunstan and of monasticism, it needed all the power of Odo the Primate, all the commanding perseverance of Dunstan, when the King Edgar, who now held the throne, became the slave of their will, and the royal laws and royal authority might seem to have no aim but the proscription of the marriage of the clergy[c] to obtain even transient conformity. It was not by law, but by armed invasion of cathedral after cathedral, that the married

with Edwy by some remote kindred). He relates as undoubted truth the monstrous charge, adduced by the gross imagination of the monkish party, of the criminal intimacy of the boy with the mother as well as the daughter. Mr. Hallam has weighed and summed up (in one of his Supplemental Notes) with his usual rigid candour, all the probabilities—they are hardly more—of this dark transaction.

[b] "Omnibus ad terram elisis, solus Dunstanus, stans super unam trabem quæ superstes erat, probè evasit." Compare Osbern, in Vit. Dunstani. "Hoc miraculum archiepiscopo exhibuit pacem de clericis, omnibus Anglis tunc et deinceps in sententiam ejus concedentibus." — Gul. Malmesb., p. 258.

[c] Compare Edgar's Charta de Oswald's Lawe, A.D. 964. "Hoc est de ejiciendis clericis uxoratis et introducendis monachis."—Ap. Harduin, vi. p. 637. Malmesbury writes of Edgar like a true monk. It was a glorious reign of sixteen years. "Nec ullus fere annus in chronicis præteritus est, quo non magnum et necessarium patriæ aliquid fecerit, quo non monasticum novum fundaverit." p. 236.—Edit. Hist. Society. See p. 237 on Dunstan, note, and on Dunstan's turning the secular priests of Worcester into regulars. "Tunc ordo monasticus jamdudum lapsus, præcipue caput erexit." p. 247.

clergy were ejected, the Benedictines installed in their places. Twice the seculars had influence enough to prevent the elevation of Dunstan: his pious ambition at last condescended to a bishopric, that of Worcester, then of Worcester and London together, finally to the Primacy. Dunstan welcomed, so said his admirers, by visible angels, died; Dunstan wrought countless miracles at his tomb. Dunstan became a Saint; and yet he had achieved no permanent victory. Hardly twenty years after the death of Dunstan, a council is held at Enham; it declares that there were clergy who had two, even more wives; some had dismissed their wives, and in their lifetime taken others. It might seem that the compulsory breach of the marriage bond had only introduced a looser, promiscuous concubinage; men who strove, or were forced, to obey, returned to their conjugal habits with some new consort.[d]

A.D. 988.

Canute, the Dane, aspired to be a religious monarch; his laws are in the tone of the monastic hierarchy.

After the great revolution, which dispossessed the Saxon clergy of all the higher benefices, the Bishop of Lichfield is accused, before the Papal legate, of living in open wedlock and with sons by his wife.[e] Archbishop Lanfranc is commanded, by Pope Gregory, to prohibit canons from taking wives; and if priests and deacons, to part them immediately from their wives, or to inflict the sentence of deprivation.[f]

[d] A.D. 1009. "In *more* est, ut quidam duas, quidam plures habeant, et nonnullus quamvis eam dimiserit, quam antea habuit, aliam tamen ipsa vivente accipit." This, although "certissime norint quod non debeant habere ob aliquam coitus causam . . . uxoris consortium," the latter offence is "quod nullus Christianus facere debet."—Mansi, xix. Wilkins, i. 287.

[e] "Cui uxor publicè habita, filiique procreati testimonium perhibent."—Lanfranc. Epist. iv.

[f] Regesta, Greg. vii. i. 30.

The strife throughout Christendom between the monks and the secular clergy, if it rose not directly out of, was closely connected with, this controversy. In the monks the severer ecclesiastics had sure allies; they were themselves mostly monks: nearly all the great champions of the Church, the more intrepid vindicators of her immunities, the rigid administrators of her laws, were trained in the monasteries for their arduous conflict. It was an arduous, but against the married clergy, an unequal contest. The monastic school were united, determined, under strong convictions, with undoubting confidence in broad and intelligible principles; the married clergy in general doubtful, vacillating, mostly full of misgiving as to the righteousness of their own cause; content with the furtive and permissive licence, rather than disposed to claim it boldly as their inalienable right. The former had all the prejudices of centuries in their favour, the greatest names in the Church, long usage, positive laws, decrees of Popes, axioms of the most venerable fathers, some seemingly positive texts of Scripture: the latter only a vague appeal to an earlier antiquity with which they were little acquainted; the true sense of many passages of the sacred writings which had been explained away; a dangerous connexion with suspicious or heretical names; the partial sanction of the unauthoritative Greek Church. Their strongest popular ground was the false charge of Manicheism against the adversaries of marriage.

Monks and secular clergy.

The great strength of the monastic party was in the revival of monasticism itself. This had taken place, more or less, in almost every part of Christendom. The great monasteries had sunk on account of their vast possessions—too tempting to maintain respect—some into patrimonies of noble families—some into appanages,

as it were, of the crown. The kings granted them to favourites, not always ecclesiastical favourites. Many were held by lay abbots, who, by degrees, expelled the monks; the cloisters became the camps of their retainers, the stables of their coursers, the kennels of their hounds, the meutes of their hawks. In Germany we have seen the extensive appropriation of the wealthiest monasteries by the lordly prelates. But even now one of those periodical revolutions had begun, through which monasticism for many ages renewed its youth, either by restoring the discipline and austere devotion within the old convents, or by the institution of new orders, whose emulation always created a strong reaction throughout the world of Monachism. In France, William of Aquitaine, and Bruno of the royal house of Burgundy, began the reform. It had spread from Clugny under Odilo and his successors; in Italy from Damiani, and from S. Gualberto in Vallombrosa; Herlembald was still upholding the banner of monkhood in Milan; in England the strong impulse given by Dunstan had not expired. Edward the Confessor, a monk upon the throne, had been not merely the second founder of the great Abbey of Westminster, but had edified and encouraged the monks by his example. Even in Germany a strong monastic party had begun to form: the tyranny and usurpation of the crown and of the great prelates could not but cause a deep, if silent revulsion.

Gregory's synod at Rome.

Almost the first public act of Gregory VII. was a declaration of implacable war against these his two mortal enemies, simony, and the marriage of the clergy. He was no infant Hercules; but the mature ecclesiastical Hercules would begin his career by strangling these two serpents; the brood, as he esteemed them, and parents of all evil. The decree

of the synod held in Rome in the eleventh month of his pontificate is not extant, but in its inexorable provisions it went beyond the sternest of his predecessors. It absolutely invalidated all sacraments performed by simoniacal or married priests:[g] baptism was no regenerating rite; it might almost seem that the Eucharistic bread and wine in their unhallowed hands refused to be transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ. The communicants guilty of perseverance at least in the sin, shared in the sacerdotal guilt. Even the priesthood were startled at this new and awful doctrine, that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on their own sinlessness. Gregory, in his headstrong zeal, was promulgating a doctrine used afterwards by Wycliffe and his followers with such tremendous energy. And this was a fearless, democratical provocation to the people; for it left to notoriety, to public fame, to fix on any one the brand of the hidden sin of simony, or (it might be the calumnious) charge of concubinage; and so abandoned the holy priesthood to the judgement of the multitude.[h]

March 9, 10, 1074.

[g] "Gregorius Papa celebratâ synodo simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes a divino officio removit, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit *novo exemplo* et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato præjudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam qui scripserunt, quod sacramenta quæ in ecclesiâ fiunt, baptismus videlicet, chrisma, corpus et sanguis Christi, Spiritu sancto latenter operante eorundem sacramentorum effectum seu per bonos, seu per malos intra Dei ecclesiam dispensentur. Tamen quia Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa vivificat, nec meritis bonorum dispensatorum amplificantur, nec peccatis malorum extenuantur."—Sig. Gemblac. ad a. 1074. Matth. Paris sub eod. ann. West. Flor. Hist. ibid.

[h] Floto (ii. pp. 45 et seqq.) has well shown the terrible workings of this appeal to the populace. The peasants held that an *accusation* of simony or marriage exempted them from the payment of tithe. Read the Letter of Theodoric of Verdun, Martene, Thes. 1. Compare, too, the "de Schismate Ildebrandi" (see on this book note farther on), in which are some frightful accounts of the ill-usage of the clergy by the rabble. One &

Gregory VII. and the King of France.

But the extirpation of these two internal enemies to the dignity and the power of the sacerdotal order was far below the holy ambition of Gregory; this was but clearing the ground for the stately fabric of his Theocracy. If, for his own purposes, he had at first assumed some moderation in his intercourse with the Empire, over the rest of Latin Christendom he took at once the tone and language of a sovereign. We must rapidly survey, before we follow him into his great war with the Empire, Gregory VII. asserting his autocracy over the rest of Latin Christendom. In the monastery of Clugny, accompanying, or vigilantly watching the German pontiffs in their Transalpine spiritual campaigns, Gregory had taken the measure of the weakness which had fallen on the monarchy of France. The first kings of the house of Capet were rather the heads of a coequal feudal federalty than kings; their personal character had not raised them above their unroyal position. King Robert, the son of Hugh Capet, had abandoned his wife Bertha, to whom he was deeply attached, because the imperious Church had discovered some remote impediment, both of consanguinity and spiritual affinity.[i] He had undergone seven years' penance; the Archbishop of Tours, who had sanctioned the incestuous wedlock, must submit to deposition. But

graceful proceeding, not undeserved, had been witnessed at Cremona by the interlocutor. Gregory's advocate insists that the pope's churchmanship was grieved and offended at this desecration of the sacerdotal character. "Sicut a viris fidelibus didici, qui multa cum illo de talibus contulerunt, referre solitus erat, quod tam crudelia et gravia nunquam in presbyteros fieri mandavisset; plurimum etiam se dolere solitum, quotiens imperitum vulgus hujusmodi novis injuriis moveretur; displicuisse semper verbera sacerdotum, cædes et vincula, cippos et carceres, si forte talia a laicis paterentur."—pp. 161, 162.

[i] She was his cousin in the fourth degree: he had been godfather to one of Bertha's children by her former marriage.

Robert aspired to be, and was, a saint. Leo IX. had held his council at Rheims in despite of Robert's successor (Henry I.), and compelled the prelates to desert the feudal banner of their king for that of their spiritual liege lord.[k] Hildebrand's letters to Philip I., King of France, are in the haughtiest, most criminatory terms. "No king has reached such a height of detestable guilt in oppressing the churches of his kingdom as Philip of France." He puts the King to the test; his immediate admission of a Bishop of Macon, elected by the clergy and people, without payment to the Crown. Either let the King repudiate this base traffic of simony, and allow fit persons to be promoted to bishoprics, or the Franks, unless apostates from Christianity, will be struck with the sword of excommunication, and refuse any longer to obey him.[m] In a later epistle to the Bishops of France, describing the enormous wickedness of the land, among other crimes the plunder and imprisonment of pilgrims on their way to Rome, he charges the King, or rather the tyrant of France, as the head and cause of all this guilt. Instead of suppressing, he is the example of all wickedness.[n] The plunder of all merchants, especially Italians, who visit France, takes place by royal authority. He exhorts the bishops to admonish him, rebukes their cowardly fears and want of dignity; if the King is disobedient, the Pope commands them to excommunicate him, and to suspend all religious services throughout France.[o] At one time, in the affair of the Archbishop Manasseh of Rheims, all the Archbishops of France were under excommunication.

[k] Concil. Rem., A.D. 998.

[m] Ad Roderic. Cabillon, i. 35, Dec. 4, 1079.

[n] Ad Episcop. Franc. ii. 5, Sept. 10, 1074, still stronger, ii. 32, Dec. 8, 1074. Compare Letter to Philip, i 75, to the Count of Ponthieu, ii. 18 Nov. 13, 1074.

[o] Regest., v. 17

England.

Whether as part of the new Roman policy, which looked to the Italian Normans as its body-guard in the approaching contest with the Transalpine powers, and therefore would propitiate that brave and rising race throughout the world, Hildebrand's predecessor (and Alexander II. did no momentous act without the counsel of Hildebrand) had given a direct sanction to the Norman Conquest of England.[p] The banner of St. Peter floated in the van of the Bastard at Hastings. The reliques, over which Harold had been betrayed into the oath of abandoning his claims on the throne to William, were ostentatiously displayed. It was with the full papal approbation, or rather with the actual authority of the Pope, that Stigand, the Anglo-Saxon primate, was deposed, and the Anglo-Saxon hierarchy ejected from all the higher dignities, the bishoprics and abbacies. A papal bull declared it illegal to elect a Saxon to a high benefice. The holiness of the sainted Confessor was forgotten. The Norman abbey of Bec must furnish primates, the Norman hierarchy prelates, not all of the same high ecclesiastical character as Lanfranc and Anselm, for conquered England.

Hildebrand may have felt some admiration, even awe, of the congenial mind of the Conqueror. Yet with England the first intercourse of Gregory was an imperious letter to Archbishop Lanfranc concerning the Abbey of St. Edmondsbury, over which he claimed papal jurisdiction.[q] To the King his language is courteous. He advances the claim to Peter's pence over the kingdom. William admits this claim: it was among the stipulations, it was the price which the Pope

[p] Compare Letter to Lanfranc, Regest. v., also on England, viii. 1, ix. 5.

[q] Alexandri Epist. apud Lanrfanc, iv.

had imposed for his assent to the Conquest. But to the demand of fealty, the Conqueror returns an answer of haughty brevity: "I have not, nor will I swear fealty, which was never sworn by any of my predecessors to yours." [r] And William maintained his Teutonic independence—created bishops and abbots at his will—was absolute lord over his ecclesiastical as over his feudal liegemen.[s]

To the kings of Spain, in one of his earliest letters, Pope Gregory boldly asserts that the whole realm of Spain is not only within the spiritual jurisdiction of the Holy See, but her property; whatever part may be conquered from the usurping infidels may be granted by the Pope, or held by the conquerors as his vassals. He reminds the kings of Spain, Alphonso of Castile, and Sancho of Arragon, of the ancient obedience of Spain to the Apostolic See, and exhorts them not to receive the services of Toledo, but that of Rome.[t]

Gregory and Spain.

No part of Latin Christendom was so remote or so barbarous as to escape his vigilant determination to bring it under his vast ecclesiastical unity.[u] While yet a deacon he had corresponded with Sweyn, king of Denmark; on him he bestows much grave and excellent advice. In a letter to Olaf, king of Norway, he dis-

[r] "Fidelitatem facere nolui nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec antecessores meos antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio."—Lanfranc. Oper. Epist. x.

[s] William's temper in such matters was known. An abbot of Evreux went to complain at Rome. William said, "I have a great respect for the Pope's Légate in things which concern religion. Mais, ajouta-t-il, si un moine de mes terres osait porter plainte contre moi, je le ferai pendre à l'arbre le plus élevé de la forêt."—Depping, Hist. des Normands, p. 350.

[t] Regest., i. 7, April 30, 1073, "regnum Hispaniæ ab antiquo proprii juris S. Petri fuisse." He appeals to a legend of St. Paul having sent seven bishops from Rome to convert Spain, i. 64, March 19, 1074. Compare iv. 28.

[u] Regest., ii. 51.

suades him solemnly from assisting the rebellious brothers of the Danish king.[x]

Between the Duke of Poland and the King of the Russians he interposes his mediation. The son of the Russian had come to Rome to receive his kingdom from the hands of St. Peter.[y]

The kingdom of Hungary, as that of Spain, he treats as a fief of the papacy; he rebukes the King Solomon for daring to hold it as a benefice of the king of the Germans.[z]

Oct. 28, 1074.

He watches over Bohemia; his legates take under their care the estates of the Church; he summons the Archbishop of Prague to Rome.[a]

Jan. 31, 1074.

Even Africa is not beyond the care of Hildebrand.[b] The clergy and people of Carthage are urged to adhere to their archbishop—not to dread the arms of the Saracens, though that once flourishing Christian province, the land of Cyprian and Augustine, is so utterly reduced, that three bishops cannot be found to proceed to a legitimate consecration.[c]

[x] vi. 13.

[y] Regest., ii. 73, 74, April 20, 1075.

[z] "Regnum Hungariæ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ proprium est," ii. 13; compare ii. 63 (March 23, 1075), Geusæ. R. H., "consanguineus tuus (Solomon) a rege Teutonico non a Romano pontifice, usurpative obtinuit dominium ejus, ut credimus, divinum judicium impedivit."

[a] i. 45.

[b] i. 23.

[c] Regest., iii. 19, June, 1076. Compare a remarkable letter to Ahazir King of Mauritania, iii. 21

CHAPTER II.

King Henry IV. Canossa.

Gregory and the Empire.

BUT the Empire was the one worthy, one formidable antagonist to Hildebrand's universal theocracy, whose prostration would lay the world beneath his feet. The Empire must acknowledge itself as a grant from the papacy, as a grant revocable for certain offences against the ecclesiastical rights and immunities; it must humbly acquiesce in the uncontrolled prerogative of the Cardinals to elect the Pope; abandon all the imperial claims on the investiture of the prelates and other clergy with their benefices; release the whole mass of Church property from all feudal demands, whether of service or of fealty; submit patiently to rebuke; admit the Pope to dictate on questions of war and peace, and all internal government where he might detect, or suppose that he detected, oppression. This was the condition to which the words and acts of Gregory aspired to reduce the heirs of Charlemagne, the successors of the Western Cæsars.

The Papacy and the Empire.

These two powers, the Empire and the Papacy, had grown up with indefinite and necessarily conflicting relations; each at once above and beneath the other; each sovereign and subject, with no distinct limits of sovereignty or subjection; each acknowledging the supremacy of the other, but each reducing that supremacy to a name, or less than a name. As a Christian, as a member of the Church, the Em-

peror was confessedly subordinate to the Pope, the acknowledged head and ruler of the Church.[a] As a subject of the Empire, the Pope owed temporal allegiance to the Emperor. The authority of each depended on loose and flexible tradition, on variable and contradictory precedents, on titles of uncertain signification, Head of the Church, Vicar of Christ; Patrician, King of Italy, Emperor; each could ascend to a time when they were separate and not dependent upon each other. The Emperor boasted himself the successor to the whole autocracy of the Cæsars, to Augustus, Constantine, Charlemagne: the Pope to that of St. Peter, or of Christ himself. On the one hand, when the Emperor claimed the right of nominating and electing the Pope, he could advance long, recent, almost unbroken precedent. The Pope, nevertheless, could throw himself still further back on his original independent authority, to the early times of the Church before the conversion of Constantine, and to the subsequent period before the election of the Pope had become of so much importance as to demand the constant supervision of the civil power; above all, to the nature of that power, of divine not of human institution. Besides, on their part, Charlemagne no doubt, and his Transalpine successors, had received both the Patriciate and the Imperial crown, if not as a gift, yet from the hands of the Popes, and had been consecrated by them; and so, if the imperial authority was not conferred, it was hallowed and endowed with a stronger title to Christian obedience by that almost indispensable ceremony. Yet the power of the Cæsars mounted far higher, to the times when they were the

[a] Even Henry IV., perhaps in his despair, admitted that he might justly be deposed if he had abandoned the faith.—Henric. Epist. ad Pap. This was after the Council of Worms.

sole autocratic representatives of all-ruling Rome; Cæsars to whom the Apostles themselves had paid loyal, conscientious obedience. Nero had been the higher power to whom Paul had enjoined subjection; and the temporal power itself, so said the Scripture in words of emphatic distinctness, was likewise of divine appointment. The agency of either being requisite to complete and ratify the power of the other, the popular conception would construe that consent, concurrence, or approval, into an act of free will, therefore of superiority. The perplexity would be without end; perplexity from which men would escape only by closing their eyes, and choosing their course in the blindness of desperate partisanship. The loftiest minds might espouse either side on a great immutable principle; each cause became a religion. Nor would either Pope or Emperor be without precedent or groundwork in the theory of his power, if he claimed, as each did, the right of acting towards his adversary as a rebel, and of deposing that rebel; the Emperor the right of appointing an Anti-pope, the Pope of setting up a rival Emperor.[b]

The strife, therefore, might seem at once internecine and interminable; and in this mortal warfare the powers, which each commanded, were strangely counterbalanced; though in this age the advantage was on the side of the Pope. The Emperor might seem to wield the whole force of the Empire, to command an irresistible army; the German soldiers were a terror to the Italians; often

[b] "Dixerat enim ille Sarabaita" (this was an opprobrious term for Pope Gregory) "quod in suâ esset potestate, quem vellet ad imperium promovere, et quem vellet removere. Sed arguitur fœditatis testimonio libri pontificalis. Ibi enim legitur, quod ordinatio papæ atque episcoporum sit, et esse debet, per manus regum et imperatorum." This declaration of Henry's panegyrist, Benzo (p. 1060), is fully confirmed by Gregory's acts and words.

had they marched, without encountering a foe, upon Rome itself. The Pope, on the other hand, was a defenceless prelate, by his character prohibited from bearing arms, without military force, without a defensible territory, with no allies on whom he could depend. Yet the Pope had no scruple in waging war by secular arms. War for the aggrandisement of the Church had no horrors for the vicegerent of Christ. Neither Gregory nor his successors, nor did the powerful Churchmen in other parts of the world, hesitate to employ, even to wield, the iron arms of knights and soldiery for spiritual purposes, as they did not to use spiritual arms for ends strictly secular. They put down ecclesiastical delinquents by force of arms; they anathematised their political enemies. The sword of St. Peter was called in to aid the keys of St. Peter. Leo IX. had set the example of a military campaign against the Normans; but these were thought at that time scarcely better than infidels. Neither the present nor the succeeding age would have been greatly shocked at the sight of a Pope, in complete armour, at the head of a crusade.[c] Nor were allies wanting to counterbalance the armies of the Empire. The policy of Pope Nicolas had attached the Normans to the Roman cause: Gregory at one time had rashly cast off the Norman alliance; but he was strong in that of the house of Tuscany. The Countess Beatrice, and her daughter Matilda, were his unshaken adherents. But the great power of each lay in the heart of his adversary's territory. In Rome the Counts of Tusculum and the neighbouring barons were dangerous partisans

[c] Gregory decides the cases in which a priest may bear arms. He is condemned "(si) arma militaria portaverit, excepto si pro tuendâ justitiâ suâ vel domini, vel amici, seu etiam pauperum, nec non pro defendendis ecclesiis."—Ad Britann., vii. 10.

of the Empire, because enemies of the Pope. At scarcely any period was the Emperor undisputed lord of Germany. Unwilling, if not rebellious subjects, princes, often as powerful as himself, were either in arms, or watching a favourable opportunity for revolt. Usually there was some ambitious house waiting its time to raise itself upon the ruins of the ruling dynasty. Nor was the Church more united than the Empire. If many of the great ecclesiastics of the Empire, from Churchmanship, from religious fear, or jealousy of the temporal power, maintained the Papal cause beyond the Alps, the Emperor was rarely without powerful prelates on his side, even in Italy. But though thus in some degree thwarted and opposed, even by his natural subjects, the spiritual power of the Pope was of tremendous efficacy. The anathema, which, in its theory at least, and in its unmitigated language, devoted its victim to eternal death, had hardly lost any of its terrors. In the popular belief, and that popular belief included the highest as well as the lowest, the actual doom of each man depended on the award of the clergy, that of nations on the supreme fiat of the Pope. The necessities of religious guidance and direction were far more deeply felt than those of temporal government. The world could do better without a Cæsar than without a Pope—at least without a priesthood, who at once, at the word of the Pope, suspended all their blessed offices. Without the Sacraments salvation was impossible; and these Sacraments ceased at once. If baptism was granted to infants, if to the dying the Eucharist was not absolutely denied; yet even these were conceded only as acts of mercy, and on ample submission: to the excommunicated they were utterly, absolutely refused.

Anathema became, without shaking the common

dread of its effects, the ordinary weapon employed by the Pope in his quarrels; by Hildebrand it was fulminated with all the energy of his character. The more religious, indeed, had been for some time shocked at the lavish frequency with which this last extremity of punishment was inflicted, even on refractory bishops, and for ecclesiastical offences.[d] There might be some prudent apprehension, lest it should lose its force by familiarity. But Damiani argues against it, on the high religious ground of the utter disproportion of the punishment in many cases to the offence of the criminal. But it had long ceased to be confined to delinquencies against the faith or the practice of the Gospel.[e] A new class of crimes was gradually formed, disobedience to the clergy or the See of Rome, in matters purely secular; encroachment, real or supposed, upon the property of the Church; the assertion of rights questioned by the Church; the withholding immunities claimed by the Church. It was not as infringing the doctrines of Christ as an infidel, or as a heretic; it was not as violating the great moral law of Christ, not as a murderer or an adulterer, that the baron, the King, or the Emperor, in general incurred the Papal ban and was thereby excluded from the com-

[d] Damiani remonstrates against the perpetual affixture of the anathema to all papal, almost to all ecclesiastical decrees. He is afraid of impairing its solemnity: he would reserve it for more awful crimes, such as heresy. A man may almost inadvertently rush "in æternæ mortis barathrum," find himself, for some trivial offence, the consort of heretics—"continuo velut hæreticus et tanquam cunctis criminibus teneatur obnoxius, anathematis sententiâ condemnatur."—Epist. 1, xii., ad Alexan. Pap. Damiani has no doubt that the anathema eternally damns its victims!—Ep. 1, vii. and xiv.

[e] Anathema even aspired to temporal effects. "Festinabimus a communione Christianæ societatis abscindere, ita ut *nullam deinceps victoriam in bello*, nullam prosperitatem habere possit in sæculo."—Ad Berengar. vi. 16. How, in a warlike and superstitious age, must this terrible omen have worked its own fulfilment!

munion of the faithful and from everlasting salvation; it was as a contumacious subject of the worldly kingdom of the Supreme Pontiff.[f] Even where moral or spiritual offences were mingled up with the general charge, that of contumacy to the ecclesiastical superior was placed in the same rank, and to the common feelings of mankind was the real, if not avowed, ground of the censure.

But not only was the excommunicated himself under this awful condemnation, the ban comprehended all who communicated with excommunicated persons. Every one in the councils, every one in the army, every one who obeyed, almost every subject who rendered allegiance to an excommunicated prince, was virtually under excommunication; and under the weight of this censure, with this aggravation of death before their eyes, men were to go forth to battle against those who proclaimed themselves the champions of the Church, the armies of the faith. To these, if immediate transition from the battle-field to Paradise was not explicitly promised, as afterwards to the Crusaders in the Holy Land (Mohammedan rewards calculated to animate them against Mohammedan foes), yet they fought under consecrated banners, their heroes were compared with those of the Old Testament; the grateful Church, the Dispenser of everlasting life and death, would not forget their services; St. Peter would recognise the faithful servants of his successor; their religious courage could not but rise to fanaticism; they were warring for the Saints of God—for God himself.[g]

[f] The Norman princes, to whom the Pope had granted their great possessions and privileges, and on whom the papacy had for some time relied for its defence against the barons of the Campagna, having given offence, and Hildebrand being secure in the more powerful protection of Beatrice of Tuscany and her daughter, were excommunicated by the dauntless Pope.

[g] Compare the elaborate argument of Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri, in favour

But if on this broad and general view the Pope stood thus on the vantage ground in his contest with the Emperor, never was a time in which the adversaries met on more unequal terms; the Papacy in the fullness of its strength, the Empire at the lowest state of weakness. The Pope, Hildebrand, mature in age, of undisputed title, with a name which imposed awe throughout Latin Christendom, and with the unswerving conviction that, in raising the Papal power to the utmost, he was advancing the glory of God; perhaps, if he stooped to think on such subjects, the welfare of mankind. The Emperor, a youth, with all the disadvantages of youth, the passions and weaknesses of a boy born to Empire, but with none of that adventitious and romantic interest which might attach the generous to his cause. He had been educated, if education it might be called, by a gentle and tender mother, by imperious Churchmen who had galled him with all that was humiliating with none of the beneficial effects of severe control.[h] They had only been indulgent to his amuse-

Character of Henry IV.

of waging war against the adherents of Guibert the antipope. After reciting all the soldiers named with honour in the New Testament, he goes on to infer that if it is lawful ever to wage war, it is against heretics. Did not S. Hilary arm King Clovis against the Arians? Did not S. Augustine urge Count Boniface to hang and every way to persecute the Donatists and Circumcellions? Did not Augustine, in his Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, on the text, "Blessed are ye who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake," say that those are equally blessed who *inflict persecution* for the sake of righteousness? He quotes Jerome as saying, "Non est impietas pro Deo crudelitas" (ad Rustic. Narbon.) "Hear the teaching of the Fathers, look to the example of those who have fought for the truth!" He then triumphantly appeals to the burning of Hermogenes the Prefect at Constantinople by the orthodox, the battles waged by the Alexandrians against the Arians, which are "praised throughout the world." He concludes with Cyril's sanctification of the monk Ammonius, who had attempted the life of the Prefect, Orestes, as a martyr; he ends with the example of Pope Leo and of Herlembald of Milan.

[h] Stenzel, i. p. 249, has justly de-

ments; they had not trained him to the duties of his station, or the knowledge of affairs and of men. In his earliest youth, thus altogether undisciplined, he had been compelled to contract a marriage, for which he felt profound aversion; and the stern Churchmen, who had bound this burthen upon him, refused to release him.[i] He tried to bribe Siegfried of Mentz to sanction the divorce, by promising his aid in despoiling the abbots of Fulda and Herzfeld of the tithes of Thuringia,[k] but the Pope sent the stern Peter Damiani to forbid the evil example. "Well then," said Henry, "I will bear the burthen which I cannot throw off." And when, no doubt in consequence, he plunged with reckless impetuosity into the licentiousness which his station could command, this, unexcused, unpalliated, was turned to his shame and discredit by his inexorable adversaries. At length, indeed, his generous nature revolted at his ill-treatment of a gentle and patient wife. She bore him a son. From that time he was deeply attached to her. She was his faithful companion in all his trials and sorrows; she gave him four children. Thus with all the lofty titles, the pomp without the power, the burthen with nothing but the enervating luxuries, none of the lofty self-confidence of one born and fitly trained to Empire, the character of Henry was still further debased by the

1069.

A.D. 1071.

scribed the character of Henry and the evil influences of the domination of this ambitious, rapacious, and unprincipled hierarchy. The great German ecclesiastics abandoned him to himself where they should have controlled—controlled where they should have left him free. It might almost seem that they had studied to shear him of all his strength before he should be committed in his strife with Hildebrand.

[i] "Quam suasionibus principum invitus duxerat." Bruno de Bello Saxonico, p. 176. He was but ten years old when he was forced to marry her: had never known her, as he declared.

[k] Compare Stenzel, 254.

shame of perpetual defeat and humiliation. His greater qualities, till they were forced out by adversity, his high abilities, till gradually ripened by use and experience, were equally unsuspected by his partisans and by his enemies.

Saxon revolt against Henry.

The great contest of Henry's reign found the Emperor with no part of his subjects attached to his person, with but few regarding the dignity of the Empire irrespective of their own private interests, and with the most powerful and warlike in actual rebellion. The day after the inauguration of Pope Gregory the Saxon princes met, and determined on their revolt. Nothing can show more clearly the strange confusion of civil and religious matters than the course of proceedings during this conflict. The Saxon insurrection takes the character of a religious war. The confederates first named by the historian are Wenzel Archbishop of Magdeburg, Burchard Bishop of Halberstadt, the Bishops of Hildesheim, Merseburg, Minden, Paderborn, and Meissen. The three ecclesiastics favourable to the cause of Henry, Liemar Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Zeitz and Osnaburg, are obliged to fly the country. To the first imperative demand, the demolition of the castles which Henry had built on many of the hills and mountain fastnesses, to control these turbulent Saxon chieftains, they added these terms;—that he should dismiss his favourites, and commit the administration of affairs to his legitimate counsellors, the princes of the Empire; that he should disperse the bevy of concubines which he maintained, contrary to decency and to the canons of the Church, and reinstate his lawful wife in his bed and in his affections; and so altogether abandon the follies of his youth. "If he refused their just demands, they were

June 29, 30, 1073.

Christians, and would not be defiled by communion with a man who insulted the Christian faith through such wickedness. They were bound by an oath of allegiance; and if he would rule for the edification, not the destruction of the Church, justly and according to ancient usage, maintain inviolate the law, rights, and liberties of all, their oath was valid; but if he first broke his oath they were absolved from theirs; they would wage war upon him, even to death, as a Barbarian, and as an enemy of the Christian name, for the Church of God, the faith of Christ, and their own liberties." It was well for Henry that this first Saxon revolt was quelled before the breaking out of direct hostilities with Gregory; for if his insurgent subjects could issue a manifesto so bold, and in some respects so noble, what had been the consequence if the Pope had supported their demands? Thuringia,[m] as well as Saxony, was in arms, and Henry received his first bitter, if instructive lesson of humiliation. His revolted subjects had openly avowed the right of deposing him. "So great was his wickedness, that he ought not only to abdicate his throne, but be stripped of his military belt, and for his sins forswear the world."[n] He had been publicly accused by Reginger, a noble of high character, of conspiring basely to massacre the princes of the Empire;

[m] A dispute concerning the tithes of that whole region, claimed and levied by the Archbishop of Mentz, was involved in the rebellion of Thuringia.

[n] "Militare cingulum et omnem prorsus sæculi usum quanto magis regnum abdicare." The Saxons fought "pro ecclesiâ Dei, pro fide Christianorum, pro libertate suâ," p. 197.—Lambert of Herzfeld. See on Lambert of Herzfeld, improperly called of Aschaffenburg, the Preface of Pertz. It is fortunate that, for these critical times, we have perhaps the best of the monastic historians—he is our chief authority—with the "De Bello Saxonico" of Bruno, and Berthold. Floto's Heinrich IV. und seine Zeit is a constant, to me mostly unsuccessful, attempt to depreciate Lambert.—Note 1856.

and the challenge of Reginger to make good his charge in single combat had been eluded rather than cheerfully accepted in bold defiance of its injustice. Henry, unequal to these adversaries, had been reduced to the utmost poverty, to abject flight and concealment. One city alone, Worms, adhered to the Emperor's waning fortune, and gave time for the formidable league to fall asunder. Henry found that there was still power in the name of the King and Emperor; many of the princes on the Rhine, with the great prelates, rallied around the sovereign; the battle of Hohenburg broke the Saxon power; the principal insurgents had been betrayed into his hands, for Henry scrupled not at perfidy to regain his authority.

Nov. 1, 1073.

June 9, 1075.

Till the close of this Saxon war the Pope had maintained a stately neutrality; events had followed so rapidly, that even had he been disposed, he could scarcely have found time for authoritative interposition. The first overt act of Hildebrand relating to the Emperor,[o] had been a general admonition to the King to return into the bosom of his mother, the holy Roman Church, and to rule the Empire in a more worthy manner; to abstain from simoniacal presentations to benefices; to render due allegiance to his spiritual superior. But when he spoke of Henry to his more confidential friends, it was in another tone. If his admonitions are treated with contempt, it will not move him. "It is safer for

Neutrality of the Pope.

The Pope's admonition to King Henry.

[o] Yet he meditated the coming strife. To Duke Godfrey he writes, that he would send envoys to Henry—"quod si nos audierit non aliter de ejus quam nostra salute gaudemus: sin vero nobis odium pro dilectione reddiderit, interminatio qua dicitur, maledictus homo qui prohibet gladium suum a sanguine, super nos, *Deo providente*, non veniet,"—May, 1073, Regest. i. 9. Compare letter to Rudolph of Suabia, i, 19.

us to resist him for his salvation to the shedding of our blood, than by yielding to his will, to consent to his ruin."[p] The admonition probably reached Henry in the most perilous time of his war with the Saxons; he had hardly escaped from their hands, had either fled, or was meditating his ignominious flight from the castle in the Hartzberg. His reply, as suited his fortunes, was in the most submissive tone. He acknowledged his sins against Heaven and the Pope; he attributed them to his youth, to the intoxication of imperial power, to the seductions of evil counsellors. He had invaded the property of the Church; he had made simoniacal promotions of unworthy persons. He entreated the clemency of the Pope; he trusted that from henceforth the kingdom and the priesthood, bound together by the necessity of mutual assistance, might adhere to each other in indissoluble union.[q] Hildebrand was delighted with language more gentle and lowly than had ever been used by the predecessors of Henry to the pontiffs of Rome. Hildebrand even then had not confined himself to his admonition to Henry; he had already erected himself into supreme arbiter of the affairs of Germany. A letter to the insurgent prelates, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Bishop of Halberstadt, and the Saxon princes, commanded them to suspend their arms until he should have inquired into the justice of their quarrel with the King their Lord.[r] This was more than a solemn per-

Aug. 8, 1073.

About Aug. 18.

[p] Gregor. Epist. ad Beatricem et Mathildam, i. xi.

[q] Epistola Henric. Regis. Mansi, date about Aug. 18, 1073. I refer to this letter Gregory's remarkable words.—"Henricum regem præterea scias dulcedinis et obedientiæ plena nobis verba misisse, et talia, qualia neque ipsum neque antecessores suos recordamur Romanis Pontificibus misisse."—Herlembaldo. Regest. i. 25, Sept. 27, 1073. On Henry's conduct in this affair Gregory lays great weight.

[r] Regest. i. 39 Dec. 20, 1073.

suasive to peace, and a religious remonstrance on the homicides, conflagrations, the plunder of the churches and of the poor, and the desolation of the country (such language had been becoming in the vicar of Christ); he took the tone of a supreme judge. An act of sacrilege on the part of the Saxons gave Henry, as he supposed, a favourable opportunity for placing the spiritual power on his own side. While negotiations were proceeding, a rising of the Saxon people took place in the neighbourhood of Hartzburg. This was the strong fortress which commanded the whole country; from which Henry had made incursions to waste the district around, in which he had found secure refuge from the popular indignation, and from which he had but now been forced to fly. But so long as the Hartzburg remained impregnable, the Saxon liberties were insecure; with but a garrison there the Emperor might at any time renew hostilities. The insurgents surprised this stronghold, but were not content with levelling the military works to the ground. Henry had built a temporary church of timber, furnished with great elegance. The insurgents scrupled not to destroy this sacred edifice, to plunder the treasures, to break the altar to pieces. In wanton insult, or with a fixed design to break the bonds of Henry's attachment to the place, they dug up the bodies of a brother and a son whom he had buried there. The reliques of the Saints were saved with difficulty, and carried by the trembling clergy to a neighbouring sanctuary. The Saxon chieftains shuddered at the consequences of this rash act; Henry's indignation knew no bounds. To that power which was to be used with such commanding energy against himself, he did not hesitate to appeal. He sent messages to Rome to demand the censures of the Pope against the Saxons, all

Feb. 24, 1074.

of whom he involved in the odious charge of burning churches, breaking down altars, violating Christian graves, and barbarously insulting the remains of the dead.

But the vengeance of Henry was fulfilled; the Saxon insurrection had been put down at Hohenburg (1075) without the interposition of the Pope, before indeed he could come to any decided resolution.

An embassy in the mean time had arrived in Germany from Rome—an embassy, it might seem, intended to work on the pious feelings as well as on the fears of the king. The mother of Henry had left her peaceful convent sanctuary, and accompanied the Papal legates, the Bishops of Præneste, Ostia, and Cumæ. Henry was accustomed from his youth to the overweening haughtiness—he had experienced the tyranny—of the prince prelates of Germany. The Italian bishops bred in the school of Hildebrand held even a more high and dictatorial tone. Their first demands were abject, unquestioning submission. They refused to communicate with the King till he had done penance for all his simoniacal acts, and had been absolved from the ban of the Church, under which he lay, either actually or virtually, as employing excommunicated persons for his counsellors. They demanded the dismissal of those persons against whom Pope Alexander had issued his censures, the bishops of Ratisbon, Constance, and Lausanne, the Counts Eberhard and Ulric. They required him also to summon a council of the prelates of Germany and Gaul, in which they were to preside, as representing the Pope. The avowed object of this council was the degradation of all the prelates who owed their rise to simoniacal means. Henry at this time hardly looked beyond his immediate advantages,

Embassy from Rome.

and the gratification of his passions. Partly yielding to the persuasions of his mother, partly out of revenge against some of the Saxon prelates, obnoxious to censure, especially from hatred of the Bishop of Worms, who alone opposed his unbounded popularity in that city, he was disposed to acquiesce in the convocation of the Council, and to allow full scope to its proceedings.

German prelates.

But most of the bishops dreaded this severe inquisition into their titles; others, of whom the chief was Licmar, the learned and sagacious Archbishop of Bremen, stood upon the privileges of the German Church. It was determined that, unless the Pope appeared in person, his representative, and the only lawful president of such a council, was the primate of Germany. Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, a man of timid and vacillating character, was as ill-qualified to be the representative of Hildebrand in Germany, as boldly to oppose his ambitious encroachments. He feared alike the Pope and the King. The fate of some of his brother prelates might well make him tremble, if the King, notwithstanding his seeming acquiescence, should enter into the contest, and the popular favour take the part of the King. The Bishop of Worms had been driven from his city with the utmost indignity; and it was doubtful whether it was not a faction, eager to avenge the royal cause, which had endangered the life of Hanno, the great Archbishop of Cologne, expelled him from the city, and maintained Cologne for some time in a state of defiant rebellion.[s] The origin of this tumult may show the haughty tyranny of these kingly prelates.

Hanno of Cologne.

[s] "Incertum levitate vulgi, an factione eorum qui vicem regis in archiepiscopum ulcisci cupiebant," &c.—Lambert, sub ann. 1074.

The Archbishop was about to leave the city after the celebration of Easter. A vessel was wanted for his voyage. His people, after examining all that were in the port (this purveyance, it must be presumed, was of ancient usage), chose that of a rich merchant, cast the valuable lading on the shore, and proceeded to seize the bark for the Archbishop's use. The merchant's men resisted, headed by his son: it ended in a furious fray. When the Archbishop heard of it, he threatened summary punishment against the seditious youths. "For," proceeds the historian, "he was a man endowed with every virtue, and renowned for his justice in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical causes." Lambert admits, indeed, "that he was liable to transports of ungovernable anger." The whole city rose in insurrection; the Archbishop was hurried, to save his life, to the church of St. Peter. His palace, his cellars were plundered: his chapel, with the pontifical robes, and even the sacred vessels, destroyed; one of his attendants, mistaken for the Archbishop, was killed: the Archbishop hardly made his escape in disguise. But the country people were attached to Hanno, perhaps hated the citizens; a military force sprang up among his vassals; the city was forced to surrender. Six hundred of the wealthiest merchants withdrew to the court of King Henry to implore his intercession. The soldiers of the Archbishop, it was given out without his sanction, plundered and committed horrible cruelties. The Archbishop wreaked a terrible vengeance on the first movers in the tumult; the son of the merchant and many others were blinded, many scourged, and the city, the richest and most powerful north of the Alps, was a long time before it recovered its former prosperity.

Siegfried of Mentz might well quail before the difficulties of his position. Not merely was he called upon to summon this dreaded Council, but to carry at once into effect the stern and peremptory decrees of Hildebrand, and of the councils which he had held at Rome for the suppression of the married clergy. Throughout Western Christendom these decrees had met with furious, or with sullen and obstinate opposition. In Lombardy not all the preaching of Ariald, nor his martyrdom; not all the eloquence of Damiani, not all the tyranny of Herlembald, nor even the fanaticism of the people, who were taught to abstain from the unholy ministrations of this defiled priesthood, had succeeded in extirpating the evil. Herlembald was now about to suffer the miserable or glorious destiny of Ariald.

March 18, 1074.

Siegfried knew the state of the German clergy; it was not till he was formally threatened with the Papal censure that he consented to promulgate the decree of Gregory.[t] Even then he attempted to temporise. He did not summon the clergy at once to show their obedience; he allowed them six months of delay for consideration—six months employed by the clergy only to organise a more obstinate opposition.

October, 1074.

A synod met at Erfurt. The partisans of the marriage of the clergy assembled in prevailing numbers. Their language among themselves had been unmeasured. "The Pope," they said, "must be a heretic or a madman. Has he forgotten the saying of the Lord? All cannot fulfil his word. The apostle says, 'Let him that cannot contain marry.' He

[t] Siegfried had been already rebuked for other causes by the Pope.—Regest. i. 60.

would compel all men to live like angels. Let him take care, while he would do violence to nature, he break not all the bonds which restrain from fornication and every uncleanness. They had rather abandon their priesthood than their wives, and then let the Pope, who thought men too grovelling for him, see if he can find angels to govern the Church." [n] Siegfried could not but betray that he was acting a part in opposition to his own judgement; his arguments, therefore, had little effect. The clergy withdrew to deliberate. Some proposed quietly to return to their own homes. Some of the more violent, with confused but intelligible menace, called for vengeance on him who dared to promulgate this execrable decree; they threatened to depose the Archbishop, and even to put him to death, as a warning to his successors not to publish such statutes, which they strangely affected to treat as calumnious to the priesthood. The affrighted primate expressed his readiness to appeal to Rome, and to endeavour to obtain some mitigation at least of the obnoxious law. Either to distract the assembly from the main subject in debate, or from mere folly or rapacity, he suddenly revived an old question of his claim on the tithes of Thuringia. These claims had been settled in the treaty at Gerstungen; and the enraged Thuringians, at first with sullen murmurs, at length with open violence, so terrified the Archbishop, that he was glad to make his way, environed by his own soldiers, out of the town. So closed the synod of Erfurt.

But the impatient zeal of Hildebrand would brook no delay. At the head of the Roman clergy, men vowed by conscience and religion, by interest and pride,

[n] Lambert, sub ann.

to his cause (Guibert of Ravenna, the Emperor's representative, the representative of the German party in Italy, as yet ventured no opposition), he determined at all hazards, even that of changing the yet obsequious, or at least consenting Emperor, from an ally in the subjugation of the simoniacal and married clergy into an implacable antagonist,[x] to strike at the root of all these abuses, comprehended under the opprobrious name of simony. He might justly apprehend that the total suppression of the evil was absolutely impossible, while the temporal sovereign possessed the power of conferring spiritual benefices. As long as the greater dignities, the rich abbeys, or even stations of inferior rank and authority, coveted for their wealth, their dignity, or even their ease or quiet, were in any way at the disposal of the laity, so long would an impoverished sovereign traffic in these promotions, or an ambitious sovereign crowd them with his creatures —each regardless of the worthiness of those elevated to the sacred offices, either looking for remuneration out of the actual revenues of the see, or in servile adherence to his commands.[y] But the Church, as a great proprietor of lands, originally granted and mostly held on the common feudal tenure, was bound by the laws which regulated other benefices. It had been content to receive these estates with their secular advantages and their secular services. The temporal power through-

Synod at Rome.

[x] In a letter to King Henry (Dec. 7, 1074) he praises him for his amicable reception of his envoys, rejoices that he had determined to destroy simony and the fornication of the clergy.—ii. 30. Compare 31, where he proposes a crusade against the infidels.

[y] But were the Popes guiltless? Herman of Bamberg had bought his bishopric; he was accused as a Simoniac, and summoned to Rome. By large gifts to Alexander II. he not only obtained pardon under a covenant not to sell any church preferments—he returned in honour with an archbishop's pall.—Lambert, sub ann. 1070.

out declared that it did not bestow, or if it sold for any stipulated gift or service the benefice attached to the see, the abbacy, or the prebend, it did not presume to sell the spiritual function, but only the property of the endowment. The sovereign was the liege lord, not of the bishop or the abbot in his hierarchical, solely in his feudal rank.

The form of investiture, indeed, was in favour of Gregory's views; the ring and the staff which the bishop received from the temporal sovereign. The ring, the symbol of his mystic marriage with his diocese; the staff, the sceptre of his spiritual sway, might seem to belong exclusively to his holy function. But this investiture conveyed the right to the temporal possessions or endowments of the benefice; it assigned a local jurisdiction to the bishop; it was in one form the ancient consent of the laity to the spiritual appointment; it presumed not to consecrate, but permitted the consecrated person to execute his office in a certain defined sphere, and under the protection and guarantee of the civil power. This was only the outward mark of allegiance; the acknowledgment of the secular supremacy as far as the estate or its feudal obligations.

In a council held at Rome at the beginning of the year 1075, Gregory abrogated by one decree the whole right of investiture by the temporal sovereign.[z]

Synod of Rome, Feb. 24-28 about investitures.

[z] "Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur, nec ulla ei ut episcopo aut abbati audientia concedatur. Insuper ei gratiam beati Petri, et introitum ecclesiæ interdicimus, quoad usque locum, quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idololatriæ, deseruerit. Similiter etiam de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis Imperatorum, Ducum, Marchionum, Comitum, vel quilibet sæcularium potestatum, aut personarum, investituram episcopatus, vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumpserit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se astrictum sciat." — Labbe, Concil., p. 342.

The prohibition was couched in the most imperious and comprehensive terms. It absolutely deposed every bishop, abbot, or inferior ecclesiastic who should receive investiture from any lay person. It interdicted him, whosoever should be guilty of this act of ambition and rebellion (which was the sin of idolatry) until he should have abandoned the benefice so obtained, from all communion in the favour of St. Peter, and from admission into the Church. And if any Emperor, duke, marquis, count, or secular potentate or person should presume to grant such investiture of bishopric or inferior dignity, he was condemned to the same sentence. This statute made a revolution in the whole feudal system throughout Europe as regarded the relation of the Church now dominant to the State. In the empire it annulled the precarious power of the Sovereign over almost half his subjects. All the great prelates and abbots, who were at the same time the princes, the nobles, the councillors, the leaders in the Diets and national assemblies, became to a great degree independent of the crown: the Emperor had no concern, unless indirectly, in their promotion, no power over their degradation. Their lands and estates were as inviolable as their persons. Where there was no fealty there could be no treason. Every benefice, on the other hand, thus dissevered from the Crown was held, if not directly, yet at the pleasure of the Pope. For as with him was the sole judgement (the laity being excluded) as to the validity of the election, with him was the decision by what offences the dignity might be forfeited; and as the estates and endowments were now inalienable, and were withdrawn from the national property and became that of the Church and of God, the Pope might be in fact the liege lord, temporal and spiritual, of half the world.

From this time the sudden and total change takes place in the courteous and respectful, if still jealous and guarded, intercourse between Henry and the Pope. Till now Henry was content to sacrifice the simoniacal and the married clergy and to be the submissive agent of the Pope in their degradation. They are now, with short intervals but of seeming peace, resolute, declared, unscrupulous, remorseless enemies. Each is determined to put forth his full powers, each to enlist in his party the subjects of the other. If Gregory had condescended, which he did not, to dissemble his deliberate scheme, his avowed sacred duty to subject the temporal to the spiritual power, a man of Henry's experience, even if without natural sagacity, could not but perceive what was now at issue. This act despoiled the Emperor of one of his most valuable prerogatives; a prerogative indispensable to his authority.

Breach between the Pope and the Emperor.

Nor was Henry now in a condition tamely to endure the aggression even of the Pope. The sudden revolution in the German mind in his favour, the victory of Hohenburg, the submission of the Saxons, the captivity of their chiefs (the fruits of that victory) might have intoxicated a mind less unused to success. Nor was he without powerful allies, pledged by their interests to his cause, and incensed by the bold and uncompromising manner in which the Pope asserted and seemed determined to enforce his supremacy.[a] The German Church, as shown at Erfurt, had still a strong inclination to independence. Of the more powerful prelates, some indeed were old, some irresolute; but some, sharing in his condemnation, were committed to his side. Hanno of Co-

[a] See the additions made to the Regesta of Gregory VII., in Mabillon Correspondence, ii. 143.

logne died[b] during the early part of the contention. Siegfried of Mentz was timid, wavering, consciously oppressed by the fearful responsibility of his position. By the same Roman synod, Licmar, Archbishop of Bremen, Werner of Strasburg, Herman of Bamberg, Henry of Spires, William of Pavia, Cunibert of Turin, Dionysius of Piacenza, besides the three bishops of Constance, Zeitz, and Lausanne, the proscribed counsellors of Henry, were interdicted from the performance of their functions. The Saxon prelates were now conquered rebels; the Bishop of Worms an exile from his city. Few were disposed by denying the legality of lay investiture to imperil their own right to the estates of their churches. But the more determined and reckless resistance was among the partisans of the married clergy. Siegfried, yielding to the urgent commands, to the menaces of the Pope, called a second synod at Mentz.[c] The Papal Legate was present; he displayed the mandate of the Apostolic See, that the bishops in their several dioceses should compel the priests to renounce their wives or abstain altogether from their sacred ministry. The whole assembly rose; so resolute was their language, so fierce were their gestures, that the Archbishop again trembled for his life. He declared that from henceforth he would take no concern in such perilous matters, but leave the Pope to execute his own decrees.

At Passau the Bishop Altman had already not only published the papal prohibition against the marriage of

[b] Dec. 4, 1075. According to Lambert he went "ad angelos." Miracles were wrought at his tomb. See his high character, a sort of ideal of a prelate of those days. "If austere, magnificent; lavish to monasteries;" of his ambition and worldly pride not a word! Compare Berthold, sub ann.

[c] Lambert.

the clergy; he interdicted the married clergy from the altar. He had met with stubborn, sullen resistance. On St. Stephen's day he ascended the pulpit, and read the Pope's brief; he would have been torn in pieces but for the intervention of some of the powerful citizens. Bishop Henry of Coire hardly escaped with his life.[d]

A.D. 1074.

No doubt it was this which raised a fixed and determined opposition to Hildebrand in a large party of the clergy throughout Latin Christendom, more especially in Italy and in Germany.[e] The manner in which the Pope commanded the execution of the decree aggravated its harshness and cruelty. The Pope deliberately sacrificed the cherished sanctity, the inviolability of the priesthood; or rather he disowned as a priesthood, and cast forth to shame and ignominy those whom he branded as unworthy of its privileges. The personal exposure and degradation could not be more galling. By the judgement of the laity, by force employed against them by unhallowed hands, they were not merely to be prohibited from their sacred functions; they were expelled from the choir, and thrust down into the place of the penitents. Even bishops were to be summarily degraded, or rather not recognised as bishops.[f] Who may imagine the fierceness of the more rude and profligate, thus sternly and almost suddenly interrupted in their licentiousness; whose secret but ill-concealed voluptuousness was

Effects of decree against married clergy.

[d] Lambert, sub ann. 1074. Compare Vit. Altmanni, apud Pertz, xiv. p. 232.

[e] Berthold (sub ann. 1075) says of the edict against the marriage of the clergy, that it caused "maximum odium in dominum apostolicum, et *per-paucos* eos qui consentirent ei."—Apud Pertz, p. 278. Yet Berthold was an Hildebrandist.

[f] Letter to Adela Countess of Flanders, iv. 10, and to Robert, iv. 11.

dragged to light and held up to shame and obloquy, perhaps to the now unawed vengeance of the injured husband or father. In proportion to their unprincipled looseness would be the passion of their resentment, the depth of their vindictiveness. But these, it may be charitably, and as far as the documents show, justly concluded, were the few. What must have been the bitterness of heart of those, the far larger part of the clergy, whose marriage, or at least an implied and solemn engagement almost as sacred as marriage, had been endeared by the sweet charities of life, by the habits of mutual affection, the common ties of parental love. Their wives were to be torn from them and treated with the indignity of prostitutes; their children to be degraded as bastards. In some cases these wretched women were driven to suicide; they burned themselves, or were found dead in their beds from grief, or by their own hands; and this was proclaimed as the vengeance of God upon their sins.[g] With some of the married clergy there may have been a consciousness, a misgiving of wrong, at least of weakness inconsistent with the highest clerical function; but with others it was a deliberate conviction, founded on the authority of St. Paul; on the usage of the primitive Church, justified by the law of Eastern Christendom, and in Milan asserted to rest on the authority of St. Ambrose; as well as on a

[g] Paul Bernried triumphs in the misery of these women, many of them the wives, as he acknowledges, of the clergy. "Interea super ipsas quoque uxores, seu concubinas Nicolaitarum sævit divina ultio. Nam quædam illarum in reprobum sensum traditæ, semetipsas incendio tradiderunt; aliquæ dum sanæ cubitum issent mortuæ repertæ sunt in matutino absque ullo præeunte infirmitatis indicio: aliquarum etiam corpora, post evulsas animas, maligni spiritus rapientes et in sua latibula reponentes, humanâ sepulturâ privaverunt." In what shape did these malignant spirits appear? Vit. Gregory VII. Murat. S. I. iii.

conscientious assurance of the evils, the manifest and flagrant evils, of enforced clerical celibacy. And these men, even when they acknowledged their weakness, and were content with the lower stations in religious estimation, were to be mingled up in one sweeping anathema with the worst profligates; to be condemned to poverty and shame, to be thrown loose to the popular judgement, the popular jealousy, the popular fury.

It was not indeed in Germany or Lombardy alone that the opposition to one or both the Hildebrandine decrees against lay investiture and the marriage of the clergy encountered fierce opposition. The latter, as of more immediate operation, excited the most furious passion. It was about this time that the Archbishop of Rouen, venturing to read the decree in his cathedral, was driven from the pulpit with a shower of stones. At the Council of Paris,[h] when the decree was read, there was a loud outcry of appeal to St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy. The Abbot of Pont-Isère,[i] dared to say that the Pope's commands, just or unjust, must be obeyed He was dragged out of the assembly, spat upon, struck in the face by the King's servants, hardly rescued alive.[k] Everywhere in Italy, in Rome itself, in France, throughout Germany, the decrees were received with the most vigorous or stubborn oppugnance; Gregory acknowledges the reluctance with which it was submitted to by

[h] Mansi, sub ann. Orderic. Vital.

[i] If the bishops of France, writes Gregory, are lukewarm in enforcing these decrees, we hereby interdict the people from attending the ministrations of such false priests.—iv. 20.

[k] Epist. Theodor. Virdunens. ad Gregor. VII. Martène et Durand. i. 218. Epistola cujusdam, p. 231. The populace sometimes took the other side. The people of Cambray burned a man for venturing to say that the Simoniac or married clergy were not to be allowed to say mass. So writes Gregory. The clergy of Cambray were generally married. Gregory would make this man a martyr.

the great mass of the clergy, the tardiness of the bishops to enforce its penalties.[m] This, doubtless, more than the strife with the empire, and the collision between the Italian and German party, was the chief source of the deep and wide-spread rancour excited in the hearts of men, rancour almost unprecedented, against Gregory VII. Later history shows Hildebrand, if not an object of admiration, of awe. Those who most deprecate his audacious ambition, his assumption of something bordering on divinity, respect the force and dignity of his character. The man who by the mere power of mind, by spiritual censures, without an army, except that which he levied by his influence over others, with enemies in his own city, aspired to rule the world, to depose the mightiest sovereigns, to raise up a barrier against the dominion of mere brute force and feudal tyranny, is contemplated, if by some with enthusiastic veneration, by others if with aversion, as the Incarnation of anti-Christian spiritual pride, nevertheless not without the homage of their wonder, and wonder not unmingled with respect. But in his own day the hostility against his name did not confine itself to indignant and vehement invectives against his overweening ambition, severity, and imperiousness; there is no epithet of scorn or debasement, no imaginable charge of venality, rapacity, cruelty, or even licentiousness, which is not heaped upon him, and that even by bishops of the opposite party.[n] The wilful promoting of un-

Hatred against Hildebrand.

[m] "Ad hæc tamen inobedientes, *exceptis perpaucis*, tam execrandam consuetudinem" (simony and marriage) "nullâ studuerunt prohibitione decidere, nullâ districtione punire."—Ad Rodolph. ii. 45.

[n] That which in the poetical invective (I am ashamed to abuse the word poetry) of Benzo, apud Menckenium, p. 975 (be it observed a bishop), takes the coarsest and plainest form, is noticed also by the grave Lambert of Herzfeld,

natural sins is retorted by the married clergy on the assertor of clerical chastity; even his austere personal virtue does not place him above calumny; his intimate alliance with the Countess Matilda, the profound devotion of that lofty female to her spiritual Father, his absolute command over her mind is attributed at one time to criminal intercourse,[o] at another to magic.

Even at the time at which Hildebrand was thus declaring war against the empire, and precipitating the inevitable conflict for supremacy over the world, he was not safe in Rome. It cannot be known whether Guibert of Parma, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the representative of the imperial interests in Italy, who in Rome had opposed all that he dared—a sullen and dissembled resistance to the Pope—was privy to the daring enterprise of Cencius. That leader and descendant of the old turbulent barons of Romagna had old scores of vengeance to repay against Hildebrand, the adviser of that policy which had brought down the Normans for their subjugation.

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o "Hæc est mulier illa, de qua ab obtrectatoribus fidei et concultatoribus veritatis crimen incestus sancto Pontifici objiciebatur." — Hugon. Chron. apud Pertz, x. p. 462. His defenders, singularly enough, think it necessary to appeal to miracle to explain this domination of a powerful and religious mind like Hildebrand's, over perhaps a weakly religious one like Matilda's. This scandal appears in its grossest and most particular form in Cosmas of Prague, who adds, "hæc sufficit breviter dixisse, quæ utinam non dixissem." Apud Menckenium, p. 39. The age of one of the two might be enough to contradict those foul tales, if they were worth contradiction. Yet was the charge publicly made in the address of the German Bishops in the Synod at Mentz. Thus writes a bishop. "Qui etiam fœtore quodam gravissimi scandali totam ecclesiam replesti de conventu et cohabitatione alienæ mulieris, familiariori quam necesse est. In quâ re verecundia nostra magis quam causa laborat, quamvis hæc generalis querela ubique personuerit omnia judicia omnia decreta per fœminas in sede apostolicâ actuari; denique per fœminas totum orbem ecclesiæ administrari." Udalrici Cod. apud Eccard. ii. p. 172. I believe this as little as the incests, violation of nuns and virgins charged by one or two writers against Henry.

Cencius had been master of the castle of St. Angelo, and the master of the castle of St. Angelo was an important partisan for the Pope. The Normans might now seem to have done their work; for some offence they were excommunicated in their turn by the fearless Gregory; the Counts of Tusculum were to be the protectors of the Roman See. But Cencius was afterwards suspected of dealings with the excommunicated Guibert. He was attacked and taken; the castle of St. Angelo for a time dismantled; the life of Cencius was spared only on the merciful intervention of the Countess Matilda.[p] Cencius therefore had long arrears of revenge; success would make him an ally who might dictate his own terms to those who had a common interest in the degradation of Gregory. Master of the Pope's person, he might expect not merely not to be disowned, but to claim whatever reward might be demanded by his ambition.

A.D. 1075. Pope seized by Cencius.

On the eve of Christmas-day the rain had poured down in torrents. The Romans remained in their houses; the Pope, with but a few ecclesiastics, was keeping the holy vigil in the remote church of Santa Maria Maggiore. The wild night suited the wild purpose of Cencius. The Pope was in the act of administering the Holy Communion, when a fierce shout of triumph and a shriek of terror sounded through the church. The soldiers of Cencius burst in, swept along the nave, dashed down the rails, rushed to the altar, and seized the Pontiff. One fatal blow might have ended the life of Hildebrand and changed the course of human events; it glanced aside, and only wounded his forehead. Bleeding, stripped of his holy

[p] Cencius, according to Lambert, had been excommunicated by the Pope.

vestments, but patient and gentle, the Pope made no resistance; he was dragged away, mounted behind one of the soldiers, and imprisoned in a strong tower.[q] The rumour ran rapidly through the city; all the night trumpets pealed, bells tolled. The clergy who were officiating in the different churches broke off their services, and ran about the streets summoning the populace to rescue and revenge; soldiers rushed to the gates to prevent the prisoner from being carried out of the town. At the dawn of morn the people assembled in the Capitol, ignorant whether the Pope was dead or alive. When the place of his imprisonment was known, they thronged to the siege; engines were brought from all quarters; the tottering walls began to yield. Cencius shuddered at his own deed. One faithful friend and one noble matron had followed the Pope into his dungeon. The man had covered his shivering body with furs, and was cherishing his chilled feet in his own bosom; the woman had staunched the blood, had bound up the wound in his head, and sat weeping beside him. Cencius, cowardly as cruel, had no course left but to throw himself at the feet of the Pontiff, and to implore his mercy. In the most humiliating language he confessed his sins, his sacrilege, his impiety. The Pope, thus insulted, thus wounded, thus hardly escaped from a miserable death, maintained throughout the mild dignity and self-command of a Christian Pontiff. His wisdom might indeed lead him to dread the despair of a ruffian. "Thine injuries against myself I freely pardon. Thy sins against God, against his mother, his apostles, and his whole Church must be expiated. Go on a pilgrimage to

Rescue.

[q] Bonizo.

Jerusalem, and if thou returnest alive, present thyself to us, and be reconciled with God. As thou hast been an example of sin, so be thou of repentance!" Christ himself might seem to be speaking in his Vicegerent.[r]

Gregory was brought out; he made a motion to the people to arrest the fury with which they were rushing to storm the tower; it was mistaken for a sign of distress. They broke down, they clambered over, the walls. Gregory, yet stained with blood, stood in the midst of his deliverers; he was carried in triumph to the church from which he had been dragged, finished the service, and returned to the Lateran. Cencius and his kindred fled; their houses and towers were razed by the indignant populace.

This adventure showed to Hildebrand at once his danger and his strength. It was not the signal for, it was rather simultaneous with, the final and irreparable breach with the King—a breach which, however, had been preparing for some months. Guibert of Ravenna was allowed to depart unquestioned, if not unsuspected as the secret author of this outrage, suspicions which were not lightened by one of his acts which took place some time after—the burial of Cencius, which he celebrated with great magnificence in Pavia. But even against Guibert Hildebrand now countenanced no such charge, still less against Henry himself. Nothing of the kind is intimated in the letter addressed but two weeks after to the King of Germany, which, if not the direct declaration of war, was the sullen murmuring of the thunder before the storm.

Jan. 8.

It is important carefully to observe the ground which

[r] Paul. Bernried, Vit. Greg. Lambert. Berthold sub ann. 1076. Arnulf, v. 6, apud Pertz. Bonizo. Lib. ad Amic.

Hildebrand took in that manifesto of war—of war disguised under the words of reconciliation: whether the lofty moral assertion that he was placed on high to rebuke the unchristian acts of kings, or even to assert the liberties of their oppressed subjects; or the lower, the questionable right to confer benefices, and the King's disobedience in ecclesiastical matters to the See of Rome.[s]

Letter to King Henry.

"Deeply and anxiously weighing the responsibilities of the trust committed to us by St. Peter, we have with great hesitation granted our apostolic benediction, for it is reported that thou still holdest communion with excommunicated persons. If this be true, the grace of that benediction avails thee nothing. Seek ghostly counsel of some sage priest, and perform the penance imposed upon thee." He proceeds to reprove the King for the hypocritical submissiveness of his letters, and the disobedience of his conduct. The grant of the archbishopric of Milan without waiting the decision of the apostolic see, the investiture of the bishoprics of Fermo and Spoleto made to persons unknown to the Pope, were acts of irreverence to St. Peter and his successor. "The apostolic synod over which we presided this year, thought fit in the decay of the Christian religion to revert to the ancient discipline of the Church, that discipline on which depends the salvation of man. This decree (however some may presume to call it an insupportable burthen or intolerable oppression) we esteem a necessary law; all Christian kings and people are bound directly to accept and to observe it. As thou art the highest in dignity and power, so shouldest thou surpass others in

[s] This missive must have been received early in January, when Henry was at Goslar.—Stenzel. *in loc.*

devotion to Christ. If, however, thou didst consider this abrogation of a bad custom hard or unjust to thyself, thou shouldest have sent to our presence some of the wisest and most religious of thy realm, to persuade us, in our condescension, to mitigate its force in some way not inconsistent with the honour of God and the salvation of men's souls. We exhort thee, in our parental love, to prefer the honour of Christ to thine own, and to give full liberty to the Church, the Spouse of God." Hildebrand then alludes to the victory of Henry over the Saxons, with significant reference to the fate of Saul, whom success in war led into fatal impiety.

The date of this letter, when written, and when received, is not absolutely certain;[t] it was coupled with or immediately followed by a peremptory summons to Henry to appear in Rome to answer for all his offences before the tribunal of the Pope, and before a synod of ecclesiastics; if he should refuse or delay, he was at once to suffer the sentence of excommunication. The 22nd of February was the day appointed for his appearance.

Henry summoned to Rome on Feb. 22.

Thus the King, the victorious King of the Germans, was solemnly cited as a criminal to answer undefined charges, to be amenable to laws which the judge had assumed the right of enacting, interpreting, enforcing by the last penalties. The whole affairs of the Empire were to be suspended while the King stood before the bar of his imperious arbiter; no delay was allowed; the stern and immutable alternative was humble and instant obedience, or that sentence which involved deposition from the Empire, eternal perdition.[u]

[t] It is dated by Jaffé Jan. 8.

[u] "Aderant præterea Hildebrandi Papæ legati, denunciantes Regi ut, secundâ feriâ secundæ hebdomadæ in

In this desperate emergency one course alone seemed left open. In Germany the idea of the temporal sovereign was but vague, indistinct, and limited; he was but the head of an assemblage of independent princes, his powers, if not legally, actually bounded by his ability to enforce obedience. The Cæsar was but an imposing and magnificent title, which Teutonic pride gloried in having appropriated to its sovereign, but against which the old Teutonic independence opposed a strong, often invincible resistance. The idea of the Pope was an integral part of German Christianity; dread of excommunication part of the faith, to question which was a bold act of infidelity.

It was only then by invalidating the title of the individual Pope that he could be lawfully resisted, or his authority shaken in the minds of the multitude. It was a daring determination, but it was the only determination to which Henry and his ecclesiastical counsellors could well have recourse, to depose a pope who had thus declared war, even to the death, against him. Not a day was to be lost; if the Pope were still Pope on the fatal 22nd of February, the irrepealable excommunication would be passed. The legates who brought this denunciatory message were dismissed with ignominy. Messengers were despatched with breathless haste to summon the prelates of Germany to meet at the faithful city of Worms, on Septuagesima Sunday, January 24th. After the death of Hanno of Cologne, Henry, knowing too well the danger from that princely see in able hands, had forced into it a monk

A.D. 1076.

quadragesimâ ad synodum Romæ occurreret, de criminibus quæ objicerentur, causam dicturus: alioquin sciret se absque omni procrastinatione eodem die de corpore sanctæ ecclesiæ apostolico anathemate abscindendum esse."—Lambert.

named Hildorf, of obscure birth, insignificant in person, feeble in mind.

On the appointed day, besides the secular partisans of Henry, the bishops and abbots of Germany obeyed the royal summons in great numbers. Siegfried of Mentz[x] took his seat as president of the synod. Cardinal Hugo the White, the same man who had taken the lead in the election of Hildebrand, and commended him by the glowing panegyric on his virtues to the Roman people, came forward, no doubt, as pretending to represent the clergy of Rome, and arraigned Pope Gregory before the synod as the worst and wickedest of men. His extravagant and monstrous charges dwelt on the early life of Gregory, on the bribery and violence by which he had gained the Papacy, the licentiousness, the flagitiousness of his life as Pope, his cruelty, his necromancy. He demanded the deposition of Gregory VII. With loud unanimous acclamation the synod declared that a man guilty of such crimes (crimes of which no shadow of proof was adduced, and which rested on the assertion of one himself excommunicated, it was averred, for simony) had forfeited the power of binding and loosing, he was no longer Pope. The renunciation of allegiance was drawn up in the strictest and most explicit form. "I, * * * bishop of * * *, disclaim from this hour all subjection and allegiance to Hildebrand, and will neither esteem nor call him Pope." Two bishops only, Adelbert of Wurtzburg and Herman of Metz, hesitated to sign this paper. They argued that it was unjust and uncanonical to condemn a bishop without a general council, without accusers and defenders, and without communicating the charges against

Synod of Worms.

x He had been degraded by the Pope.—Lambert, sub ann.

him, how much more a pope, against whom the accusation of a bishop, or even an archbishop, was not valid But William of Utrecht, the boldest, the most learned, and the staunchest partisan of Henry, offered them the alternative of disclaiming their allegiance to the King, or affixing their signature. To this force they yielded an unwilling approbation.[y]

Letter to the Pope announcing his deposition.

The letter of Henry to the Pope, conveying the decree of the council, was couched in the most arrogant and insulting terms, and so neutralised the bitter truths which, more calmly expressed, might have wrought on impartial minds, if such there were. "Henry, not by usurpation but by God's ordinance, King, to Hildebrand, no longer Pope, but the false monk." It accused him of the haughtiness with which he tyrannised over every order of the Church, and had trampled archbishops, bishops, the whole clergy, under his feet. He had pretended to universal knowledge as to universal power. "By the authority of the priesthood, thou hast even threatened to deprive us of our royal authority, that priesthood to which thou wast never called by Christ." "By craft thou hast got money, by money influence, by influence the power of the sword; by the sword thou hast mounted the throne of peace, and from the throne of peace destroyed peace, arming subjects against their rulers, bringing bishops appointed by God into contempt, and exposing them to the judgement of the laity. Us, too, consecrated of God, amenable to no judge but God, who can be deposed for no crime but absolute apostacy, thou hast ventured

y The Chronicle of Hildesheim says that the bishop of that city signed only from fear of death, "sed quod scripserat, ut homo sagacissimi ingenii obelo supposito damnavit." This bishop stood on dangerous ground as a leader in the Saxon insurrection.

to assail, despising the words of that true pope St. Peter. 'Fear God! honour the King'! Thou that honourest not the King fearest not God! St. Paul held accursed even an angel from heaven who should preach another Gospel: this curse falls upon thee who teachest this new doctrine." "Thus accursed then, thus condemned by the sentence of all our bishops, and by our own, down! Leave the apostolic throne which thou hast usurped. Let another take the chair of St. Peter, one who preaches not violence and war, but the sound doctrine of the holy Apostle. I, Henry, by the grace of God King, with all the bishops of my realm, say unto thee, 'Down! down!'"

To clergy and people of Rome.

Another letter was addressed to the clergy and people of Rome. In this the King accuses the Pope of having sworn to deprive him of the kingdom of Italy. "Gregory would hazard his own life, or strip the King of his life and kingdom." As patrician, therefore, Henry had deposed the Pope, and now commands them on their allegiance to rise up against him. "Be the most loyal the first to join in his condemnation. We do not ask you to shed his blood; let him suffer life, which, after he is deposed, will be more wretched to him than death; but if he resist, compel him to yield up the apostolic throne, and make way for one whom we shall elect, who will have both the will and the power to heal the wounds inflicted on the Church by their present pastor."

Early in February.

The German Church seemed to enter into the bold and open revolt of Henry; in Lombardy the old party of Cadalous and of the married clergy, maintained and guided by Guibert of Ravenna, showed equal resolution. A synod at Piacenza ratified the decree of Worms.

Gregory in the mean time had summoned his third council in the Lateran. He sat among his assembled bishops. The hymn had ceased which implored the descent of the Holy Ghost on this great Christian assembly. The bold and sudden entrance of Roland, a priest of Parma, was hardly perceived amid the grave occupation to which (as genuine descendants of the old Romans who, when the fate of kings and nations depended on their vote, usually commenced their solemn council by consulting the augurs, and waiting for some significant omen) they had surrendered their absorbed attention. An egg had been found which, by its mysterious form, portended the issue of the conflict. What seemed a black serpent, the type of evil, rose as it were in high relief and coiled around the smooth shell; but it had struck on what seemed a shield, and recoiled, bruised and twisting in a mortal agony. On this sight sat gazing the mute ecclesiastical senate.[z]

Lateran Council. Feb. 21, 22, 1076.

But the voice of Roland made itself heard. "The King and the bishops of Germany send this mandate. Down at once from the throne of St. Peter! yield up the usurped government of the Roman Church! none must presume to such honour but those chosen by the general voice, and approved by the Emperor." He turned to the amazed assembly—"Ye, my brethren, are commanded to present yourselves at the Feast of Pente-

[z] "Incipiens synodum pastor Gregorius, ovum
Gallinæ sculptum, gestans in cortice scutum
Et colubrum nigrum qui tendebat caput, ictu
Quippe repercussus quodam, pertingere sursum
Non potuit, caudamque plicans dabat sinuatam.
Non erat hæc plana, sed erat sculptura levata.
Ad Synodum fertur, nunquam par ante repertum.
Quod dum miratur, prædictus et ecce Robertus" * * *

DONIZO.

This, be it remembered, is history not poetry. Robert is called elsewhere Roland.

cost before the King my master, there to receive a Pope and Father; for this man is no Pope, but a ravening wolf."

The fiery Bishop of Porto sprung from his seat, and shouted with a loud voice, "Seize him!" Cencius, the governor of the city,[a] and his soldiers sprung forth to hew the audacious envoy in pieces. Gregory interposed his own person, protected the King's ambassador, and with difficulty restored order. He received the documents presented by Roland, and with his wonted calm dignity read the acts of the councils, with the taunting letter of the King.

Murmurs of vehement indignation burst forth from the whole synod; they sank again as Gregory commenced his address, urging them to respect the sanctity of the place. In his speech, skilfully it may hardly be said, yet naturally, his own cause was assumed to be that of the clergy, of the Church, of Christianity. "These were the coming and predicted days in which it behoved the clergy to show the innocence of the dove, blended with the wisdom of the serpent. The forerunner of Anti-Christ had risen against the Church; the dry harvest was about to be wet with the blood of the saints. Now is the time when it will be shown who is ashamed of his Lord, of whom the Lord will be ashamed at his second coming. Better is it to die for Christ and his holy laws, than, by shamefully yielding to those who violate and trample them under foot, to be traitors to the Church: not to resist such impious men were to deny the faith of Christ." With the gravity of an ancient augur he proceeded to interpret the sign of the egg. The serpent

[a] Stephen Cencius, another of the same family, according to Bonizo, brother of the famous Cencius, a partisan of the Pope. He was afterwards put to a cruel death by the Imperialists.—Bonizo, p. 816.

was the dragon of the Apocalypse raging against the Church; and in the same old Roman spirit he drew the omen of victory from its discomfiture. "Now, therefore, brethren, it behoves us to draw the sword of vengeance; now must we smite the foe of God and of his Church; now shall his bruised head, which lifts itself in its haughtiness against the foundation of the faith and of all the Churches, fall to the earth; there, according to the sentence pronounced against his pride, to go upon his belly, and eat the dust. Fear not, little flock, saith the Lord, for it is the will of your Father to grant you the kingdom. Long enough have ye borne with him; often enough have ye admonished him: let his seared conscience be made at length to feel!"

The whole synod replied with one voice, "Let thy wisdom, most holy Father, whom the divine mercy has raised up to rule the world in our days, utter such a sentence against this blasphemer, this usurper, this tyrant, this apostate, as may crush him to the earth, and make him a warning to future ages. . . . Draw the sword, pass the judgement, *that the righteous may rejoice when he seeth the vengeance, and wash his hands in the blood of the ungodly.*" [b]

The formal sentence was delayed, to prepare it in more awful terms, till the next day. On the morning arrived letters from many prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, disclaiming the acts of the synods at Worms and Piacenza, and imploring the forgiveness of the Pope for their enforced assent to those decrees. The Pontiff again took his seat in the Lateran, encircled

[b] Psalm lviii. 10. Paul Bernried, the fullest authority on this period, gives the whole as the proceedings of one day. Other writers seem to show that they occupied two; but the distribution of the business between those two days is somewhat conjectural.

by 110 bishops and abbots.[b] The first sentence fell on Siegfried of Mentz, and the prelates who had concurred in the proceedings at Worms. They were suspended from their episcopal functions, interdicted from the holy Eucharist, unless in the hour of death, and after due and accepted penance. Those who had assented from compulsion were allowed time to make their peace with the apostolic see. The prelates who met at Piacenza were condemned to the same punishment. Some other censures were spoken against other prelates and nobles of the empire; but the awe-struck assembly awaited in eager expectation that against the arch-criminal King Henry. The Empress Agnes was among the audience; the stern stoicism of the monastic life had even wrought a mother's heart to listen to the sentence, perhaps of eternal damnation, against her son.[c]

Henry deposed.

Hildebrand commenced his sentence with an address to St. Peter, and renewed protestations of the reluctance against which he had been compelled to ascend the pontifical throne. "In full confidence in the authority over all Christian people, granted by God to the delegate of St. Peter, for the honour and defence of the Church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the power and authority of St. Peter, I interdict King Henry, son of Henry the Emperor, who in his unexampled pride has risen against the Church, from the government of the whole realm of Germany and of Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have sworn or may swear to him; and forbid all obedience to him as King. For it is just that he who impugns the honour of the Church should him-

[c] Berthold, p. 283.

self forfeit all the honour which he seems to have; and because he has scorned the obedience of a Christian, nor returned to the Lord, from whom he had revolted by holding communion with the excommunicate, by committing many iniquities, and despising the admonitions which, as thou knowest, I have given him for his salvation, and has separated himself from the Church by creating schism: I bind him, therefore, in thy name, in the bonds of thy anathema; that all the nations may know and may acknowledge that thou art Peter, that upon thy rock the Son of the living God has built his Church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."[d]

When the Senate or the Emperors of Rome issued their mandates to the extremity of the world, they were known to be supported by vast and irresistible armies. The mandates of Hildebrand were to promulgate, to execute themselves. He was master indeed in Rome; he might depend, perhaps, on the support of his ally,

[d] For the modern views on the subject of deposing kings, see perhaps the ablest work, Gosselin, Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age. The foundation of Fenelon's theory, embraced partially by M. De Maistre, fully by M. Gosselin, is that the Pope's power of dethroning sovereigns rested on a "droit public," acknowledged throughout Europe. But whence this droit public, but from the exaggerated claims of the Pope and the clergy, beaten by superstitious terrors into the minds of men? The whole argument of Gosselin's book is, that the power existed and was acknowledged, therefore it was absolute law. De Maistre has said that possession on one hand, consent (assentiment) on the other, is the foundation of all power; but what tyranny does not this justify and eternise? The first premise nobody will deny in one sense; and we even may admit the conclusion, so far as it may mitigate the attributing the growth of such principles to deliberate, far-seeing, conscious ambition on the part of the clergy and the Pope; but it will not absolve them from having been unconsciously influenced by the desire of corporate or personal aggrandisement, or from their abuse of those principles, when admitted, by making them subservient to their own passions and to their own temporal ends.

the Countess Matilda; he might, possibly, as a last refuge, summon the Normans, an uncertain trust, to his succour. But on these things he seemed to disdain to waste a thought; on himself, on his censures, on the self-assured righteousness of his cause, on the fears of men, and doubtless on what he believed the pledged and covenanted protection of the Saints, of Christ, of God, he calmly relied for what he would not doubt would be his final triumph.

King Henry heard in Utrecht, March 27, the sentence of the Pope. His first impression was that of dismay; but he soon recovered himself, affected to treat it with contempt, and determined to revenge himself by the excommunication of the Pope. The Bishops of Toul and Verdun, though attached to Henry, had disapproved of the condemnation of the Pope; they secretly withdrew from the city to escape the perilous office now demanded of them. In William of Utrecht fidelity to the King had grown into a fierce hatred of the Pope. Not merely did he utter the sentence of excommunication, but followed it up with busy zeal. At every opportunity, even when performing the sacred office, he broke forth against the perjurer, the adulterer, the false apostle; and pronounced him excommunicated, not by himself alone, but by all the bishops of Germany.[e] Nor was William absolutely alone: a council at Pavia, summoned by the indefatigable Guibert, met and anathematised Gregory.

Measures of Henry.

William of Utrecht excommunicates the Pope. April.

But while these vain thunders had no effect on the rigid churchmen and the laity who adhered to the Pope, the excommunication of Henry was working in the

[e] "Omnibus pæne diebus solemniter, rabido ore declamavit.—Lambert."

depths of the German mind, and mingling itself up with, and seeming to hallow all the other motives for jealousy, hatred, and revenge which prevailed in so many parts of the empire. A vast and formidable conspiracy began to organise itself hardly in secret. The Dukes Rudolph of Swabia, Guelf of Bavaria, Berthold of Carinthia, with the Bishops of Wurzburg and Metz, were at the head of the league, which comprehended men knew not whom, there was no one whom it might not comprehend. The King summoned a diet at Worms, but the prudent and those conscious of sinister designs, kept away: it separated without coming to any conclusion. A second was summoned for St. Peter's day, to meet at Mentz.

April 28

But even before the diet at Worms an event had taken place which had appalled all Germany — the sudden death of William of Utrecht. Terrible rumours of the circumstances of his fate spread throughout the land, darkening, no doubt, as they went on. In the delirium of his mortal sickness he had reproached himself for his wicked and impious conduct to the Pope, entreated his attendants not to weary themselves with fruitless prayers for a soul irrecoverably lost. He had died, it was said, without the Holy Communion. The blasphemer of Hildebrand had perished in an agony of despair; and God had not only pronounced his awful vengeance against the blasphemer himself, the cathedral which had witnessed the ceremony of Gregory's excommunication had been struck by the lightning of heaven.

Death of William of Utrecht.

Even after death the terrible power of Gregory pursued William of Utrecht. In answer to an inquiry of the Bishop of Liège, the Pope sternly replied, that, if William of Utrecht had knowingly communicated with

the excommunicated Henry (and of this fact and of his impenitence there could be no doubt), the inexorable interdict must follow him beyond the grave. Unabsolved he lived and died, there was no absolution after death; no prayers, no sacrifices, no alms could be offered for the soul of William of Utrecht.[f]

Desertion of Henry by the Princes.

Henry looked abroad into the Empire, which, but the year before, his victory at Hohenburg had awed at least into outward peace, and where the obsequious clergy at Worms had seemed to join him almost with unanimity in his defiance of Hildebrand. On every side he now saw hostility, avowed or secret, conspiracy, desertion; the princes meditating revolt; the prelates either openly renouncing or shaken in their allegiance. Herman of Metz had released some of the Saxon chieftains committed to his charge; he was evidently assuming the rank of head of the Hildebrandine party among the ecclesiastics of Germany. Henry had threatened to revenge himself by marching at once and occupying Metz, but had been obliged to abandon that decisive measure. The defection of Otho of Nordheim, to whom the final suppression of the Saxon rebellion had been entrusted, and who at least had listened to the overtures of the insurgents, was still more embarrassing, and broke up all his warlike plans.

May 15. Diet at Mentz.

At Mentz the assembly both of prelates and nobles was more numerous than at the second assembly summoned at Worms; but the leaders of the opposition whom Henry hoped either to gain or to overawe, and whose attendance, sinking from the imperious language of command, he had condescended

[f] Regest. iv. 6. Godfrey of Lorraine too had fallen by the hands of murderers in Friesland.

to implore, still kept aloof, and, without declaration of hostility, maintained a sullen but menacing neutrality. Yet enough appeared at the Diet to show the dreadful effects to be apprehended from the approaching conflict, and the nature of the resistance which was to be encountered by the King. Throughout Germany house was divided against house, family against family, kindred against kindred. Udo, Archbishop of Treves, the third of the great Rhenish prelates, had passed the Alps to make his peace with Gregory; he had been received with courtesy, and had yielded himself up absolutely to the spell of Hildebrand's commanding mind. His conduct on his return was sufficiently expressive. With cold determination he refused to hold any intercourse with his brother metropolitans, the excommunicated Siegfried and Hildorf of Cologne, and with the other bishops of Henry's party. Only by the express permission of the Pope would he venture into the infected presence of the excommunicated King himself, in order to give him good counsel. He shrank from the sin and contamination of eating with him or joining him in prayer. The contagion of fear and aversion spread into the palace of Henry. The ecclesiastics shrank away one by one, lest they should be defiled by the royal intercourse. To the King's repeated commands, to his earnest entreaties that they would return, they answered, that it was better to lose the royal favour than endanger their souls.[g] The more ardent and resolute of Henry's party were excited to the utmost fury; they urged the King to draw at once the sword, committed to him by God, to chastise the rebellious prelates and his other contumacious subjects.

[g] Lambert. sub ann.

But Henry felt the ebbing away of his strength. Everything seemed blasted with a curse and turned against him. His last hold on the fears of the Saxons was that he still had in his power some of their more formidable leaders. He issued orders to use the utmost vigilance for their detention. Of these the most dangerous, and, as most dangerous, most hateful to Henry was Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt, whom Henry determined to send to Hungary for safer custody. On his descent of the Danube a bold and adventurous partisan contrived the liberation of the bishop: Burchard found his way to Saxony. The King's measures began to be those of a man in utter despair, wild, inconsistent, passionate. He at once changed his policy. He determined to have the merit of granting freedom to those whom he could not hope to detain in prison. To the bishops of Magdeburg, Merseburg, and Meissen, to Duke Magnus and the Palatine Frederick, he sent word that, though by the laws of the empire he would be justified in putting them to death, yet, out of respect for their exalted rank, he would not merely release them on the promise of their fidelity, but reward that fidelity with the utmost liberality. They met hypocrisy with hypocrisy, and solemnly swore fidelity. They were brought to Mentz to receive their liberation from Henry himself; but he was defeated even in this measure.[h] A fray took place in the city between the followers of the Bishop of Bamberg, and those of a rival ecclesiastic; the prisoners escaped in the confusion.

Escape and liberation of Saxon prisoners. June 24.

June 29.

An expedition into Saxony, through Bohemia, ended in total and disgraceful failure. The King, instead

[h] Lambert, sub ann.; Benzo, 33-36.

of quelling his rebellious subjects, only by good fortune effected an ignominious retreat, and fled to Worms. July.

Hildebrand in the mean time neglected none of his own means of warfare, that warfare conducted not in the battle-field, but in the hearts and souls of men, which he felt himself to command, and knew how to sway to his purpose. Words were his weapons, but words which went to the depths of the human mind, and shook almost every living man with fear. There were two classes, the churchmen, and the vulgar, which comprehended the larger part of the human race; to both he spake the fit and persuasive language. He addressed a spiritual manifesto to all Christendom, but more especially to the bishops and clergy. He reverted to his former affection for Henry; the love with which even when a deacon he had warned his youth; he had continued his earnest admonitions in mature age. But Henry had only returned evil for good; had lifted up his heel against St. Peter. He commanded the bishops to urge the contumacious King to repentance, but "if he prefers the devil to Christ, and adheres to his simoniacal and excommunicated counsellors, the bishops, the Pope himself, must manfully discharge their duty. They must enforce upon all, clergy and laity, the peremptory obligation of avoiding all intercourse whatever with the excommunicated; all intercourse which was death to the souls of those wretched men and to their own."[i]

July 25. Letters of the Pope.

In a letter to Herman of Metz he presses this doctrine with more relentless rigour. "All who had communicated with the excommunicated king, if king he might

[i] Regest. iv. 1.

be called, by that act had themselves incurred excommunication." Such were the doctrines of him who assumed to represent the Prince of Peace! "But there were those who denied his right to excommunicate a king: though their folly deserved it not, he would condescend to answer."[k] What then was his answer? One of the most audacious fictions of the Decretals; an extract from a charge delivered by St. Peter to Clement of Rome; the deposition of Childebert by Pope Zacharias; certain sentences of Gregory the Great intended to protect the estates of the Church, and anathematising all, even kings, who should usurp them; finally the memorable example of St. Ambrose and Theodosius the Great. "Why is the King alone excepted from that universal flock committed to the guardianship of St. Peter? If the Pope may judge spiritual persons, how much more must secular persons give an account of their evil deeds before his tribunal? Think they that the royal excels the episcopal dignity? —the former the invention of human pride, the latter of divine holiness: the former ever coveting vain glory, the latter aspiring after heavenly life. 'The glory of a king,' St. Ambrose says, 'to that of a bishop is as lead to gold.' Constantine the Great took his seat below the lowest bishop, for he knew that God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble."—The humility of Hildebrand! He then peremptorily forbade all bishops to presume to grant absolution to Henry, or to enter into communion with him. "The consecration of a bishop who communicates with the excommunicate is an execration."

July 25.

Aug. 25.

A third letter, to the German people, commanded

[k] Licet pro magnâ fatuitate nec etiam eis respondere debemus.

them, if the King did not immediately repent, dismiss his evil counsellors, acknowledge that the Church was not subject to him as a handmaid, but superior as a mistress, and abandon those usages which had been established in the spirit of pride against the liberty of the Holy Church (the investiture), to proceed at once to the election of a new sovereign, a sovereign approved by the Pope. He anticipates the embarrassment of their oath sworn to the Empress Agnes. She, no doubt, when Henry shall be deposed, will give her consent; the Pope would absolve them from their oath.

Sept. 3.

The diet met at Tribur near Darmstadt. Thither came Rudolph of Swabia, Otho of Saxony, Guelf of Bavaria, the two former rivals for the throne if it should be vacant by the deposition of Henry. All the old enemies, all the revolted friends, the bishops who had opposed, the bishops who had consented, some even who had advised his lofty demeanour towards the Pope, appeared drawn together by their ambition, by their desire of liberty or of power, by their fears and by their hopes of gain or advancement, by their conscientious churchmanship, or their base resolution to be on the stronger side. Already in Ulm, where the diet at Tribur had been agreed upon, Otho of Constance had made his peace with the Church; the feeble Siegfried of Mentz did the same. The Bishops of Verdun, Strasburg, Liège, Munster, and Utrecht obtained easier absolution, some of them having from the first disapproved of the King's proceedings.

Oct. 16.

In September

The legates of the Pope, Sighard Patriarch of Aquileia, and Altman Bishop of Passau, whose life had been endangered in the suppression of the married clergy, with

many laymen of rank who had embraced the monastic life, appeared to vindicate the Pope's right to excommunicate the King, and to sanction the election of a new sovereign. These men kept themselves in severe seclusion from all who, since his excommunication, had held the slightest intercourse by word or deed with the King. They avoided with equal abhorrence all who communicated, even in prayer, with married or simoniacal clergy.

For seven days the conclave sat in high and independent, and undisturbed deliberation on the crimes of the Emperor; the sins of his youth, by which he had disgraced the majesty of the Empire; the injuries which he had inflicted on individuals and on the public weal; his devotion to base-born counsellors, and his deliberate hostility to the nobles of the realm; his having left the frontiers open to barbarous enemies, while he was waging cruel war on his subjects; the state of the Empire which he had inherited flourishing in peace and wealth, but which was now in the most wretched condition, laid waste by civil wars; the destruction of churches and monasteries and the confiscation of their estates for the maintenance of a lawless army; and the building fortresses to reduce his freeborn liegemen to slavery. Widows and orphans were without protection; the oppressed and calumniated without refuge; the laws had lost their authority, manners their discipline, the Church her power, the State her dignity. Thus by the recklessness of one man things sacred and profane, divine and human, right and wrong, were in confusion and anarchy. For these great calamities one remedy alone remained, the election of another king, who should restrain the general license, and bear the weight of the tottering world. The right of the Pope

Diet at Tribur

to separate the King from the communion of the faithful was fully recognised; even if the Pope had passed such sentence unjustly, no Christian could communicate with the interdicted person till reconciled to the Church.

On the other side of the Rhine, at Oppenheim, the deserted Henry, with a few armed followers, a very few faithful nobles, and still fewer bishops, kept his diminished and still dwindling court. The Rhine flowed between these strangely contrasted assemblies. The vigour of Henry's character seemed crushed by the universal defection. There was no dignity in his humiliation. Even with his imperfect sense of kingly duty, and his notions of kingly power, the terrible truth of some of these accusations may have depressed his conscience. Whatever his offences against the Pope, he could not wonder at the alienation of his subjects. He sank to abject submission. Day after day came his messengers offering concession on concession, the redress of all grievances, the amendment of all errors, the promise to efface by his future benefits the memory of all past injuries. He was ready to do no public act without consulting the great Council of the realm; he would even surrender up his power, place the government in other hands, if they would leave him the royal name and dignity, which could not be taken away without degrading the crown of Germany in the eyes of men. For the fulfilment of these terms he offered any oaths and any hostages demanded by the Diet.

Henry at Oppenheim.

The conclave coldly replied that they could have no faith in his promises; on every favourable opportunity he had broken, like spiders' webs, the solemn oaths which he had pledged before God. They had been patient too long. Their religious reverence for their

allegiance had made them endure the dissolution of all order in the state, the loss of peace in all the churches of the realm, the majesty of the empire subverted, the dignity of the public morals debased, the laws suspended, the ruin of justice and piety. As long as his temporal life was concerned, they had borne all this out of respect for their oath of fealty; but now that he was cut off by the sentence of the Pope from the Church of God, it would be madness not to seize the hour of deliverance. It was their fixed determination, therefore, without delay to provide "a man to go before them, and to wage the war of the Lord," to the destruction of his pride who had lifted himself against the justice and truth of God and the authority of the Roman Church.

The treacherous Archbishop of Mentz had given orders to collect all the boats upon the Rhine, in order to attack Henry at Oppenheim, to seize his person, disperse his followers, and by one decisive blow to end the contest. But the partisans of Henry and Henry himself drew courage from the desperate state of their affairs. They boldly manned the shores, and bade defiance to their enemies. The confederates shrank from the conflict; some were not prepared for the last extremity of arms; others, remembering Hohenburg, might dread the issue of a battle even at such advantage. But this was a transient gleam of courage and success; the consciousness of his weakness returned; Henry was at the mercy of his revolted subjects. He had but to accept the hard terms which they might be pleased to impose. The terms were these: the whole affair was to be reserved for the decision of the supreme Pontiff, who was to hold a council at Augsburg on the feast of the Purification in the ensuing year. In the mean time

Henry was to declare his unreserved subjection and submission to the Pope, to dismiss his army, and live as a private man at Spires, with no ensigns of royalty, performing no act of kingly authority, not presuming to enter a church, and holding no intercourse with his excommunicated counsellors. He was to deliver the city of Worms to its bishop, to disband the garrison, and to bind the citizens by an oath to commit no act of insult or rebellion against their prelate. If the King was not absolved from the ban of excommunication before the full year expired from the date of his sentence (in that same month of February in which fell the feast of the Purification), he forfeited irrevocably all right and title to the throne; his subjects were released from their allegiance.

Henry bowed his head before his fate. He dismissed his counsellors; the Bishops of Cologne, Strasburg, Bamberg, Basle, Spires, Lausanne, Zeitz, and Osnaburg were left to make their peace as they could with the Pope. Even his favourite counts, Ulric of Cosheim, and Eberhard of Nellenburg, were obliged to depart. He disbanded his troops, yielded up faithful Worms to its triumphant bishop, retired to Spires, and he who had been born, as it were, a king, who could have had no recollection of the time in which he was not honoured with the name and ensigns of royalty, sank into a private station.

Henry submits.

Beginning of November.

But in that intolerable condition he could not remain; he must determine on his future course. Whatever might be the end, it was better to confront the inexorable Pope; to undergo, if it must be undergone, the deep humiliation of submission in Italy rather than in the Diet of the Empire, in the face, amid the scorn and triumph, of his revolted subjects. He resolved to anti-

cipate the journey of the Pope to Germany. Udo of Treves, his adversary, consented to be his messenger to solicit the Pope's permission to make his act of submission in Rome rather than at Augsburg. Udo's journey was stopped at Piacenza; the enemies of Henry had anticipated his message to the Pope. Hildebrand declared his intention to hold the court at Augsburg; however difficult and inconvenient the journey, before the 8th of January he should be at Mantua.

Nature seemed to conspire with the Pope and with his enemies against the fallen King. So hard a winter had not been known for years; from Martinmas to the middle of April the Rhine was frozen, so as to be passable on foot. The Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, the enemies of Henry, commanded and jealously watched the passes of the Alps. With difficulty Henry collected from still diminishing partisans sufficient money to defray the expenses of his journey. With his wife and infant son, and one faithful attendant, he left Spires, and turned aside into Burgundy, in hopes of finding hospitality and aid. He reached Besançon before Christmas day. William of Burgundy entertained him with courtesy.[m] He passed Christmas in Besançon with something approaching to royal state. From Besançon he made his way to Geneva, and crossed the Rhone, to the foot of Mont Cenis. There he was met by his mother-in-law Adelaide, the powerful Marchioness of Susa, and her son Amadeus. They received him with an outward show of honour; but, taking advantage of his extreme necessity, they demanded the cession of five rich bishoprics as the price of his free passage through their territories. This demand might

A few days before Christmas.

[m] "Satis magnifice pro suâ calamitate susceptus et habitus."

seem an insidious endeavour to commit him still further with the Pope, by forcing him to exercise or to transfer, in a simoniacal manner, the contested power of investiture. Henry was glad to extricate himself by the sacrifice of a rich district which he possessed in Burgundy.

But the Alps were still between him and Italy. The passage of Mont Cenis, notwithstanding the hardier habits of the time, was always a work of peril and difficulty; the unusual severity of the winter made it almost desperate. Vast quantities of snow had fallen; the slippery surface, where it had hardened, was not strong enough to bear; the ascent seemed impracticable. But the fatal day was hastening on; the King must reach Italy or forfeit his crown for ever. At a large cost they hired some of the mountaineers well acquainted with the paths, to go before and cut something like a road through the snow for the King and his few followers. So they reached with great labour the summit of the pass. The descent seemed impossible; it looked like a vast precipice, smooth, and almost sheer. But the danger must be overcome; some crept down on their hands and knees; some clung to the shoulders of the guides, and so sliding and at times rolling down the steeper declivities, reached at length the bottom without serious accident. The queen and her infant son were drawn down in the skins of oxen, as in sledges. Some of the horses were lowered by various contrivances — some with their feet tied allowed to roll from ledge to ledge. Many were killed, many maimed; few reached the plain in a serviceable state.

Henry passes the Alps.

No sooner was the King's unexpected arrival made known in Italy than the princes and the bishops assem-

bled in great numbers, and received him with the highest honours; in a few days he found himself at the head of a formidable army. The great cause of his popularity with so many of the Lombard nobility and the prelates was the notion that he had crossed the Alps to depose the Pope. All, and they were neither few nor without power, who were excommunicated by Hildebrand, looked eagerly for vengeance. But Henry could not pause to plunge into this new warfare, where even in Lombardy he would have encountered half the magnates and people. He could not imperil the throne of Germany. He must obtain the absolution from his excommunicator before the fatal 25th of February.

The Pope meantime, accompanied by his powerful protectress Matilda of Tuscany, and by the Bishop of Vercelli, had crossed the Apennines on his way to Mantua. The news of Henry's descent into Italy arrested his march. Uncertain whether he came as a humble suppliant or at the head of an army (Gregory well knew the state of Lombardy), he immediately turned aside, and took up his abode in Canossa, a strong fortress belonging to Matilda.

January.

To Canossa first came in trembling haste many of the nobles and prelates who had been included under the ban of excommunication, and whom Henry had been forced to dismiss from his service. Most of them had been so fortunate as to elude the guards set to watch the passes of the Alps. Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, one of the most faithful and irreproachable of Henry's partisans (he had not concurred in his more violent proceedings), had been seized by Adelbert, Count of Calw, plundered, imprisoned, forced to promise a large ransom, and not to revenge this cruel outrage. Rupert

of Bamberg, still more odious to the adverse party, was taken by Guelf, Duke of Bavaria, stripped of all his treasures, even to his pontifical robes, and kept in close captivity; neither his own entreaties, nor those of his friends, could obtain his liberation. With naked feet, and in the garb of penitents, the rest appeared before the Pope. To them Gregory tempered his severity by mildness. He would not refuse absolution to those who confessed and lamented their sins; but they must be purified as by fire, lest by too great facility of pardon, the atrocious and violent crime of which they had been guilty to the apostolic see should be regarded as a light sin, or as no sin at all. The bishops were shut up in separate and solitary cells, with but a scanty supply of food till the evening. The penance of the laity was apportioned with regard to their age and strength. After this ordeal of some days, they were called before the Pope, and received absolution, with a mild rebuke, and repeated injunctions to hold no communion with their master till he should be reconciled to the Holy See.

The lenity of the Pope to his adherents may have decided the wavering mind of Henry; it may have been designed to heighten by contrast the haughty and inexorable proceedings towards the King. Hildebrand would be content with the moderate chastisement of the inferiors, from the King he would exact the most degrading humiliation. Henry first obtained an interview with Matilda of Tuscany. He sent her to the Pope, loaded with prayers and promises. She was accompanied by Adelaide of Susa, the Marquis Azzo, and Hugh, the Abbot of Clugny,[n] who was supposed to possess great influence over the mind of Gregory. He

[n] Hugh of Clugny had been the godfather of Henry.—Dach. Spic. iii. p. 441.

entreated the Pope not too rashly to credit the jealous and hostile charges of the German princes, but to absolve the King at once from his excommunication. The Pope coldly replied, that it was inconsistent with the ecclesiastical laws to pass judgement, except in the presence of the accusers; "let him appear on the appointed day at Augsburg, and he shall receive rigid and impartial justice." The ambassadors of Henry urged that the King by no means declined, he humbly submitted to the judgement of the Pope, but in the mean time earnestly desired to be released from the excommunication. The possession of his crown depended on his immediate absolution; he would undergo any penance, and be prepared to answer hereafter before the Pope to any charges advanced against him. The implacable Pope would yield no step of his vantage ground. He might indeed dread the versatility of Henry's character, and his ready assent to the advice of flattering and desperate counsellors. "If he be truly penitent, let him place his crown and all the ensigns of royalty in my hands, and openly confess himself unworthy of the royal name and dignity." This demand seemed too harsh even to the ardent admirers of the Pope; they entreated him to mitigate the rigour of the sentence, "not to break the bruised reed." The Pope gave a vague assent to their representations.[o]

On a dreary winter morning, with the ground deep in snow, the King, the heir of a long line of emperors, was permitted to enter within the two outer of the three walls which girded the castle of Canossa.[p] He

[o] It is fortunate that this scene, the most remarkable in the history of the middle ages, is related by that one of the monkish annalists who aspires to the character of a historian—Lambert of Hertzfeld.

[p] Canossa, the ancestral fortress of the Countess Matilda, was planted on

had laid aside every mark of royalty or of distinguished station; he was clad only in the thin white linen dress of the penitent, and there, fasting, he awaited in humble patience the pleasure of the Pope. But the gates did not unclose. A second day he stood, cold, hungry, and mocked by vain hope. And yet a third day dragged on from morning to evening over the unsheltered head of the discrowned King. Every heart was moved except that of the representative of Jesus Christ. Even in the presence of Gregory there were low deep murmurs against his unapostolic pride and inhumanity.[q] The patience of Henry could

Henry at Canossa.

Jan. 25, 1077.

the summit of a craggy hill, a spur of the Apennines as they descend on the plain of the Po, about 20 miles S.E. of Parma. It is now entirely deserted, and every tradition of the great scene which it witnessed has perished. But its situation and the outline of its ruins agree with the notices in the contemporary chronicles. It stands on a rock of a white ashy colour, which probably gave it the name of *Canossa*, as the ruddy colour of the crags of a neighbouring fortress, also belonging to the Countess, is perpetuated in the name of Rossina. Alba Canossa is the designation given to it by Donizo, who puts into the mouth of the castle a long panegyric on the family of Matilda, and a proud remonstrance with the neighbouring Mantua: "Sum petra non lignum." "Nuda silex" well describes its bare, stony eminence. The only habitations near the place are a few cottages gathered round a church at the foot of the hill, dedicated to S. Biaggio. Of the church of S. Nicolas, where the Emperor had his interview with the Abbot of Clugny, no vestige remains, nor is it possible to ascertain distinctly the chapel within the castle where the absolution took place. Indeed, the space is so narrow on the crest of the rock that it is difficult to imagine how the Countess and her illustrious guest could have found room. But the "triple wall" mentioned by Lambert can easily be traced. The first surrounds the foot of the hill. The next, which contained a drawbridge over a chasm, is half-way up. The archway of the third, or topmost wall, is still standing; and it must have been in front of this that the Emperor passed his three miserable days. The localities are all described in a romance published on the subject by the late Padre Bresciani, under the title of the 'Contessa Matilda di *Canossa*.' Amongst the coins which I found within the ruins, two bore the dates of the emperors Otho I. and Henry II. The scene is carved on Matilda's tomb in St. Peter's at Rome.—Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. 1864.

q "Nonnulli vero in nobis non apos-

endure no more; he took refuge in an adjacent chapel of St. Nicolas, to implore, and with tears, once again the intercession of the aged Abbot of Clugny. Matilda was present; her womanly heart was melted; she joined with Henry in his supplications to the Abbot. "Thou alone canst accomplish this," said the Abbot to the Countess. Henry fell on his knees, and in a passion of grief entreated her merciful interference. To female entreaties and influence Gregory at length yielded an ungracious permission for the King to approach his presence. With bare feet, still in the garb of penitence, stood the King, a man of singularly tall and noble person, with a countenance accustomed to flash command and terror upon his adversaries, before the Pope, a grey-haired man, bowed with years, of small unimposing stature.

The terms exacted from Henry, who was far too deeply humiliated to dispute anything, had no redeeming touch of gentleness or compassion. He was to appear in the place and at the time which the Pope should name to answer the charges of his subjects before the Pope himself, if it should please him to preside in person at the trial. If he should repel these charges, he was to receive his kingdom back from the hands of the Pope. If found guilty, he was peaceably to resign his kingdom, and pledge himself never to attempt to seek revenge for his deposition. Till that time he was to assume none of the ensigns of royalty, perform no public act, appropriate no part of the royal revenue which was not necessary for the maintenance of himself and of his attendants; all his subjects were

tolicæ severitatis gravitatem, sed quasi tyrannicæ feritatis crudelitatem esse clamarunt." These are Gregory's own words in his public account of the affair. — Ad Germanos. Regest. iv. 12.

to be held released from their oath of allegiance; he was to banish for ever from his court Rupert Bishop of Bamberg, and Ulric Count of Cosheim, with his other evil advisers; if he should recover his kingdom, he must rule henceforward according to the counsel of the Pope, and correct whatever was contrary to the ecclesiastical laws. On these conditions the Pope condescended to grant absolution, with the further provision that, in case of any prevarication on the part of the King on any of these articles, the absolution was null and void, and in that case the princes of the empire were released from all their oaths, and might immediately proceed to the election of another king.

Terms of submission.

The oath of Henry was demanded to these conditions, to his appearance before the tribunal of the Pope, and to the safe-conduct of the Pope if he should be pleased to cross the Alps. But the King's oath was not deemed sufficient; who would be his compurgators? The Abbot of Clugny declined, as taking such oath was inconsistent with his monastic vows. At length the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Vercelli, Osnaburg, and Zeitz, the Marquis Azzo, and others of the princes present, ventured to swear on the holy reliques to the King's faithful fulfilment of all these hard conditions.

But even yet the unforgiving Hildebrand had not forced the King to drink the dregs of humiliation. He had degraded Henry before men, he would degrade him in the presence of God; he had exalted himself to the summit of earthly power, he would appeal to Heaven to ratify and to sanction this assumption of unapproachable superiority.

After the absolution had been granted in due form,

the Pope proceeded to celebrate the awful mystery of the Eucharist. He called the King towards the altar, he lifted in his hands the consecrated host, the body of the Lord, and spoke these words:—"I have been accused by thee and by thy partisans of having usurped the Apostolic See by simoniacal practices,—of having been guilty, both before and after my elevation to the Episcopate, of crimes which would disqualify me for my sacred office. I might justify myself by proof, and by the witness of those who have known me from my youth, whose suffrages have raised me to the Apostolic See. But to remove every shadow of suspicion, I appeal from human testimony to divine. Behold the Lord's body; be this the test of my innocence. May God acquit me by his judgement this day of the crimes with which I am charged; if guilty, strike me dead at once." He then took and ate the consecrated wafer. A pause ensued; he stood unscathed in calm assurance. A sudden burst of admiration thrilled the whole congregation. When silence was restored, he addressed the King, "Do thou, my son, as I have done! The Princes of the German Empire have accused thee of crimes heinous and capital; such as in justice should exclude thee not only from the administration of public affairs, but from the communion of the Church, and all intercourse with the faithful to thy dying day. They eagerly demand a solemn trial. But human decisions are liable to error; falsehood, dressed out in eloquence, enslaves the judgement; truth, without this artificial aid, meets with contempt. As thou hast implored my protection, act according to my counsel. If thou art conscious of thy innocence, and assured that the accusations against thee are false, by this short course free the Church of

The Sacrament at Canossa.

God from scandal, thyself from long and doubtful trial. Take thou too the body of the Lord, and if God avouches thy innocence, thou stoppest for ever the mouths of thy accusers. I shall become at once the advocate of thy cause, the assertor of thy guiltlessness, thy nobles will be reconciled to thee, thy kingdom restored, the fierce tumult of civil war which destroys thy empire be allayed for ever." [r]

Was this a sudden impulse or a premeditated plan of Gregory? Was it but a blind determination to push his triumph to the utmost; or was it sincere confidence in the justice and certainty of this extraordinary ordeal? Had he fully contemplated the dreadful alternative which he offered to the King—either boldly to deny the truth, to the smallest point, of charges not like those against himself, clear and specific, but vague, undefined, including his whole life? In that case, did he not discern the incredible wickedness of thus tempting the King, in his stupor and confusion, to reckless perjury? Or should the King, so adjured, prostrate himself at the feet of the Pope, and by acknowledging his guilt, deprive himself at once and for ever of his crown? Or did he suppose that God would indeed interpose, and as tradition reported of Lothair of Lorraine, who had been put to the same test by Hadrian II. and met with a speedy and miserable death, so would the perjured Henry, by a still more striking example, rivet for ever the bonds of ecclesiastical power upon the hearts of kings?

[r] Waltram either knows nothing of this part of the scene or passes it over. "Ad comprobandum ecclesiasticæ reconciliationis testimonium, sacram communionem corporis et sanguinis Domini de manu ejus accepit."—De Unit. Eccles. ii. 15. But he attributes this almost diabolical speech to Gregory, as addressed to Henry's enemies, "ne soliciti sitis, quoniam culpabiliorem eum reddo vobis."

Henry, in his amazement, hesitated, and stood in visible agitation. He then retired to a short distance to consult with his few followers how he should escape this terrible "judgement of God." He then summoned his courage, and declared that he must first obtain the opinion of those princes who had adhered to his cause; that though this trial might be satisfactory to the few present, it would not have any effect on the obstinate incredulity of his absent enemies: he adjured the Pope to reserve the whole question for a General Council, in whose equitable decision he would acquiesce. The Pope hardly consented to this request; but as if conscious that he had himself gone too far, he now condescended to receive the King at a banquet, treated him with courtesy, and gave him much grave advice.

Gregory had sent, in the mean time, Eppo, Bishop of Zeitz, to announce to the Italian nobles the absolution of the King. But the Lombards had come not to see the King, but the Pope humbled. When they heard the history of Henry's debasement, they broke out into furious indignation, glared on the Bishop with fierce and menacing looks, and loaded him with insulting and contumelious language. They openly avowed their contempt for the Pope's excommunication, denied his right to the Papacy, renewed all the opprobrious accusations of adultery and other capital offences against the Pontiff. Of the King they spoke with contemptuous bitterness; he had dishonoured the royal dignity by his submission to a man, a heretic and loaded with infamy; they had followed him as the avenger of their wrongs, as the assertor of justice and of ecclesiastical law; he had deserted them in the hour of trial, and made his own peace by a base and cowardly reconciliation. Their angry discontent spread through the camp.

There was a general cry that the King should be compelled to abdicate the throne of which he was so unworthy, and that his son Conrad should be instantly proclaimed. With him at their head they would march to Rome, elect another Pope, who should crown the infant Emperor, and annul all the acts of this apostate Pontiff.

Henry sunk at heart, and perhaps now imagining that he had underrated his own power, did not dare to confront the tumult. He sent out some of the nobles around him to assuage the dissatisfaction, to explain the stern necessity to which he had bowed, and to assure them that hereafter he would apply all his thoughts to the assertion of their rights. The tumult was stilled; but many of the more powerful Lombards retired in disgust to their strongholds. The rest received him as he came forth from that fatal Canossa with cold and averted looks: no one approached him, but they stood apart in small knots, discussing, in hardly suppressed murmurs, his weakness and his disgrace. He retired in shame and sorrow to Reggio.

Jan. 28.

The triumph of sacerdotal Christianity, in the humiliation of the temporal power, was complete, but it was premature. Hildebrand, like other conquerors, must leave the fruits of his victory to later times. He had established in the face of Europe the great principle, the Papal power of judging Kings. Henry himself seemed at first stunned by the suddenness, the force of the blow; Christendom had in like manner been taken by surprise. But the pause of awe and reverence was but brief and transitory; a strong recoil was inevitable; the elements of resistance were powerful, and widely spread. The common hatred of Hildebrand brought

together again all who, from lower or from loftier motives, abhorred his tyranny: the Germans, who resented the debasement of the Empire; the Italians, who dreaded the ascendancy of the house of Tuscany; the clergy, who, more or less conscientiously, were averse to the monastic rigour of Hildebrand—those who had felt or who dreaded his censures.

CHAPTER III.

Continued Strife with King Henry. Berengar of Tours. Death of Gregory.

Henry in Reggio.

AROUND the fallen King in Reggio assembled almost all the distinguished prelates and laity who had formed his small court at Oppenheim. They were released from their excommunication, and prepared, with greater prudence, perhaps, but with unmitigated hostility, to resume the contest: Licmar Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Zeitz, Osnaburg, Lausanne, and Basle, Ulric of Cosheim, Eberhard of Nellenburg, and Berthold, the proscribed counsellors of the King; above all, Guibert of Ravenna, whose ambition aspired to the seat of Hildebrand, with many other Italian bishops.

The two parties remained for a time watching, it might seem, each other's movements; neither could trust the other. Henry, still wearing the outward show of submission, advanced from Reggio to Ravenna. There he sent a message to the Pope, requesting that the General Council might be held in Mantua rather than in Augsburg. To this Gregory, dreading, perhaps, the passage of the Alps, and uncertain or unwilling to commit himself too far with the German adversaries of the King, now he had withdrawn the excommunication, gave an ambiguous assent. Henry, after an interview with his mother at Piacenza, where he was said to have held secret and nightly conferences with the enemies of

Gregory, approached Mantua.[a] But either secret intelligence, or not unnatural suspicion that Henry had laid a deep plot to surprise the person of the Pope in that city, alarmed the partisans of Gregory. Matilda hurried the Pope back, through by-roads, to the Apennines; and again entrenched him in her impregnable fortress at Canossa. Henry, during this time, was making a progress through the cities of Lombardy. Everywhere he encountered the same sullen and contemptuous indignation. There were no deputations of the magistrates—no processions of the people to meet him; the gates were closed; he was left to lodge in the suburbs. Provisions were doled out just sufficient for his maintenance, but altogether unbecoming his royal station; guards were posted to watch his followers, lest they should dare to maraud in the neighbouring villages. Henry beheld all this not without some satisfaction; if it showed aversion and contempt for him, it showed still more profound hatred of the Pope. From Monza he sent to demand permission for his coronation as King of Italy by certain other bishops, the Archbishop of Milan and the Bishop of Pavia being still under the Papal interdict. Gregory eluded this request, which might have the appearance of a public acknowledgment of Henry's still unquestioned, uncontested title to his crown.

A.D. 1077. March 1.

End of February.

Slowly, as he felt his growing strength, Henry began to throw off the ill-worn mask of submission. He in-

[a] According to Berthold, Henry was to have been visited at Pavia by the famous Cencius, who surprised Gregory in Rome. The king refused him the kiss as being excommunicate! Cencius died the day they were to have met, "morte damnandus æternâ. In puncto descendit ad inferna," adds Berthold, sub ann. 1077.

veighed publicly against the harshness—the tyranny of the Pope. He openly reinstated his old counsellors, especially the obnoxious Ulric of Cosheim; he was in more and more open communication with the declared foes of the Pope; still there was no outward breach to justify Hildebrand in renewing the excommunication—in declaring the solemn and hard-wrung absolution null and void; and Henry was now too strong to be safely driven to despair. He was in Italy amid potentates ready to hazard everything in their own cause—not in his: not in Germany with almost the whole empire in rebellion.

Henry grows in power.

The revolted German Princes had gone too far to retreat. The few who aspired to the throne—the many who dreaded the vengeance of Henry—the Dukes of Swabia, Bavaria, and Carinthia, with some of the Saxon chiefs; Siegfried of Mentz, who was now too deeply committed, the Hildebrandine Bishops of Wurtzburg and Metz—had no course but to advance boldly to the deposition of the King. They had met at Ulm, but the unusual cold of the season compelled them to disperse. The snow had prevented the arrival of many. They appointed the decisive Diet on the 13th of March at Forcheim.

Beginning of February.

For Gregory the position of affairs had become embarrassing to the utmost. By his severity, not merely had he not conciliated, he had degraded too deeply for reconciliation—debased, trampled upon the King. Christian forgiveness might seem to be too high a virtue to be expected from any man after such an example of implacability, least of all from a king like Henry. But yet he had released him from the ban of excommunication. Before the appointed day of trial Henry stood absolved; the fact was public and noto-

Embarrassment of the Pope.

rious, the conditions hardly known or forgotten. The magician had dissolved his own spell. The strong ground on which the adversaries of Henry stood crumbled beneath them; they had lost the great excuse which justified them in the eyes of men for their revolt, for the deposition of Henry, for the election of a new King. Gregory conducted himself with that subtle policy in which he was as great a master as in bold resolve. He left free course to the fears and passions of the Germans hostile to Henry, yet took no step which would prevent him from disclaiming, in the face of the world, the election of Rudolph, now put openly forward as the intended successor of the deposed Henry. He retired to his safer sanctuary at Rome, where he resumed his state. Count Maingold, the brother of the historian Herman the Lame, had been despatched to Gregory with the account of the proceedings at Ulm, and a respectful invitation to the Pope to attend in person at the Diet at Forcheim. The Pope sent a message to the confederate Princes, advising them to delay (if it could be done without danger, of which he would not take the responsibility) their final decision concerning the throne. At the same time he sent Count Maingold to Henry, to demand a safe-conduct for himself across the Alps. This was to be the test of Henry's fidelity. At the same time with the embassy of the Pope, Henry had received a summons to Forcheim, and also an insidious admonition from his rival Rudolph, not to enter into Germany until his mother or the Pope should have prepared the way for his reception.

Sept. 16, 1077.

March 1.

About March 7.

Henry met subtlety with subtlety. He excused himself from appearing at Forcheim on the appointed day. "He had newly taken upon himself the functions

of King of Italy; he was overwhelmed with business. The Italians would be offended at his sudden departure before he had settled their affairs." To Gregory he replied that it was beyond his ability to pledge himself for the security of the Pope; he was himself in the power of the Lombards, of whose profound hatred Gregory was aware. These ungovernable men might not respect his safe-conduct, and he might but be betraying the Pope into personal danger. Gregory did not think fit to question the truth or sincerity of these representations. He sent his two legates—the Abbot Bernhard of Marseilles, and Bernhard the Cardinal Deacon—as his representatives to the Diet.

Diet at Forcheim. March 13.

The Diet met at Forcheim; the Papal Legates appeared. They made at first some show of moderation, which soon gave way before the resolute and not unexpected determination of the confederates to proceed at once to the election of a new Sovereign. The Legates mildly suggested the expediency of giving Henry another chance, and of awaiting the arrival of the Pope; but, with convenient modesty, they intimated doubts whether it could be done without danger. With the same unusual deference, they said that the possession of the throne depended not on their counsels, but on the decision of the Princes: it was for the Princes to judge what was best for the public weal:[b] but they expressed their astonishment that the German nation should so long have endured such a King. Determined, though the Legates of the Pope thus dexterously shrunk from responsibility, to have the Pope's name on their side, the confederates

[b] "Si hoc sine periculo fieri posse perpenderent." Bernried. "Cæterum provisionem regni non tam in eorum consilio, quam in principum arbitrio sitam."—Ibid.

declared that before, and independent of Henry's excommunication, Gregory had annulled their oaths of allegiance; themselves would be under the Apostolic censure if they should remain any longer subject to the King.

Election of Rudolph of Swabia. March 15.

The election fell upon Rudolph of Swabia; the Papal Legates interfered to assuage some fierce jealousies which threatened to break out among the rival Princes. Among the terms to which Rudolph swore was—I., to leave the choice of the Bishops free; and II., not to endeavour to make the throne hereditary in his family. He was at once consecrated at Mentz by Archbishop Siegfried and the Archbishop of Magdeburg. The Papal Legates gave the sanction of their presence to the ceremony.

March 26.

Civil War.

Thus was civil war proclaimed throughout Germany. A writer on the Imperial side describes its guilt and misery. For seventeen years wars and seditions raged throughout the Roman Empire. Bishop rose against Bishop;[c] the clergy against the clergy; the people against the people; father against son, son against father, brother against brother. He deliberately charges Gregory with the guilt of all this unchristian fraternal hatred—of all this unchristian bloodshed.[d] Is posterity to allow itself to be overawed

[c] In a battle (Aug. 7, 1078) the Saxon battle-word was St. Peter; but the bishops on St. Peter's side ran away. "Quos omnes, quia melius sciebant psalmos cantare eo quod nutriti sub religione essent, quam legiones armatas ad bella disponere, solo visu præliantium in fugam conversi sunt." Magdeburg, in his flight, was killed by the peasants; Merseburg fled naked: Siegfried of Mentz (he was retaken); Bernard, Archdeacon of Rome, Adelbert of Worms, were brought before Henry.—Bruno, c. 96.

[d] Waltram de Unit. Eccles. apud Freber, p. 251. See, too, the very curious tract of Wipo, Bishop of Ferrara, published in the last volume of

by the grandeur of Gregory's character, his inflexible adherence to what he supposed to be right, his conscientious conviction that he was maintaining the cause of God—and to dismiss this grave contemporary charge from the bar of its judgement? To take refuge in the high predestinarianism that it was the inevitable collision of two great principles—that much eventual good arose out of the maintenance of the high ecclesiastical principle—does not solve the moral difficulty. It is not sufficient to say that the good survived and the evil passed away,—that the clergy maintained a power beneficial—greatly beneficial on the whole, to civilisation—while the earth drank up the blood that was shed, and the grave closed alike over those who suffered and those who inflicted misery. Was Gregory right in the assertion of the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power? Even if right, was civil war, with all its horrors, the legitimate means of maintaining it—legitimate to a Christian Pontiff? Was not Gregory, as the vicegerent of Christ, bound to have that deep abhorrence for human misery (and of the sins as well as the misery of civil war he could not be ignorant), so as to use every means to avert it? Did he attempt to allay the storm, or allow his own pride and passions to embark in it?

Pertz, Scriptores pp. 148, 179 (1856), De Schismate Hildebrandi. It contains a discussion between an Imperialist and a Papalist, an enemy and an advocate of Hildebrand, in which his whole conduct is argued on as by plaintiff and defendant. The author sums up at the end against Hildebrand in these words: "Duo sunt quæ dampnatione dignum Ildebrandum ostendunt: quod Rodolfum in regem creari fecit, et Teutonicum bellum fieri non prohibuit, in quo sanguis octo millium hominum fusus fuit. In eo etiam perjurii reatum incurrit, quod juramentu vinculis obligatos Teutonicos sacramenti religionem violare fecit. In eo etiam schismaticus extitit, quod indignorum ministrorum et excommunicatorum sacramenta polluta docuit, non accipienda mandavit, nec sacramenta quidem dici debere perhibuit, in quibus a sanctorum patrum regulis omnino dissensit."—P. 179.

Did not his subtle policy protract wilfully—knowingly protract for his own ends—the doubtful conflict? Were the liberties of the German people, the beneficent exercise of the power of the clergy—not the power itself—the leading incentives in his thoughts? How far was the supreme Christian law sacrificed, and by him who proclaimed himself Christ's representative on earth?

Inauguration of Rudolph.

The inauguration of Rudolph was in blood. No sooner had he been crowned, than a fierce tumult broke out, from an accidental cause, between the followers of some of his partisans and those of Henry. Though they succeeded in restoring quiet, the Archbishop and the new King left the Imperial city, never to return.[e]

It might seem that the assumption of the throne by a rival monarch called into action all the slumbering forces of Henry's cause. Now rallied the conviction that the royal authority was, no less than that of the Pope, the ordinance of God. Loyalty, submissive conscientious loyalty, had been the boasted attribute of the primitive Christians. The watchword of the party was that St. Peter himself had connected in indissoluble union the two unrepealed truths, "Fear God" and "Honour the King." The populace of Mentz had broken out in a sudden access of fidelity to the King. Rudolph and his followers next proceeded to Worms, but Worms again cast out her tyrannous and rebel bishop, and closed her gates. Everywhere a large part of the clergy, even in Swabia, refused to break their oath of fealty. The three Hildebrandine Bishops of Wurtzburg, Metz, and Passau, alone adhered to Rudolph: some, like Otho of Constance, at once declared for

[e] "Peractâ electione simul et sanguineâ illius ordinatione."—Waltram, p. 275.

Henry; others, like Emmeric of Augsburg, only awaited a favourable time to renounce the Swabian cause.

No sooner had the news of the rival Emperor's election reached King Henry in Italy, than he sent to the Pope to demand Rudolph's excommunication as an unauthorised usurper. Gregory had recourse to his usual subterfuge—the injustice of condemnation without regular investigation of the cause.

A.D. 1077. Henry in Germany, April and May.

Henry with no longer delay than was necessary to collect some forces, which rapidly increased as he proceeded, left the care of his son Conrad and the government of Italy to the Bishops of Milan and Piacenza, and crossed the Alps. He was received with ardour by his partisans. Swabia first paid the penalty for the ambition of her prince. From the Necker to the Main all was laid waste. The fierce Bohemian half-pagan allies, who had joined the standard of Henry, treated churches with no more reverence than stables; women were violated on the altars. The war at once took its most ruthless and exterminating character.

The confederates looked in vain to Rome, which at least had not forbidden, which, it could hardly be denied, had fomented, had encouraged, had justified the rebellion.[f] Gregory now assumed the lofty tone of arbiter,

[f] At the synod at Rome, March 3, 1078, Gregory anathematised the Archbishops of Ravenna and Milan, the Bishops of Cremona and Treviso, the Cardinal Hugo of St. Clement. He decreed as to the disturbances of the kingdom of Germany—"nuncii a latere apostolicæ sedis ad partes illas mittantur, qui omnes religiosos et justitiæ amantes, clericalis et laicalis ordinis viros convocent cum quibus aut finem aut pacem juste componant, aut veritate percognitâ, cui parti magis justitia faveat, ad plenum addiscere valeant: quatenus pars injusta resipiscat et apostolicâ auctoritate munita justitia vigoris et auctoritatis robur obtineat."—Mansi, xx. p. 503. See, however, forward for further proceedings.

and commanded them to lay aside their arms, and await his sublime award. The Saxons addressed him in strong remonstrances; he had excited them to revolt by his excommunication of Henry; he had absolved them from their oaths, and now he affected to speak with equable impartiality. The heavens, they had thought, would stand still, earth move like the heavens, ere the throne of St. Peter would lose the firmness of Peter.[g] Thrice they wrote in grief, in remonstrance, in indignation. Thrice must the cock crow to remind St. Peter of his weakness. At one juncture, indeed, at Goslar, the Legate, who had made common cause with the confederates, ventured to renew the excommunication; he was neither avowed nor disclaimed by the Pope, and the interdict, therefore, had no great effect.

May 31.

Oct. 12.

The character of Gregory cannot claim the excuse of irresolution. Yet for nearly two years did Hildebrand, while the war raged fiercely, maintain this doubtful policy, holding the language of peace, but claiming the right which could not but be inadmissible, to dictate that peace. Wherever the final Council or Diet of the Empire was to meet and adjudicate on the conflicting titles of the two sovereigns, there he was to be present, to preside in person or by his legates, and pronounce his award. Total submission to the Roman see was the first preliminary admitted in the Court of the Pope. "If either of these Kings (thus he writes to the German nation), inflated by pride, shall in any way impede our journey to you, and conscious of his

March, 1078.

g Bruno. They complained that he was "apostolici vigoris oblitus . . . at nostiates . . . a magnâ spe, quam in apostolicâ petrâ posuerant, exciderunt, quia prius cœlum stare, vel terram crediderunt cœli modo moveri, quam cathedram Petri amittere constantiam Petri."—c. 107.

unjust cause, decline the judgement of the Holy Ghost, resisting in his disobedience his Holy Mother the Catholic Church, him despise ye as a brood of anti-Christ, a destroyer of the Christian religion, and respect any sentence which our legates may pronounce against him. To those, on the other hand, who shall humbly submit to our judgement, pay all reverence and honour." [h]

But Henry's submission to any arbitration, even if the scene at Canossa had not taught him mistrust of the Pope's equity, of the Pope's justice, had invalidated his title. That he was the actual, undeposed, undeposable King, his rival a rebel and an usurper, was the strength of his cause. Gregory's words of peace therefore, however lofty, could not be expected even by himself to overawe the civil war, of which his own pretensions were one of the causes. His language, indeed, was appalling enough. In a second address to the German nation, he anathematises all who shall impede the assembling a general Diet to judge between the two kings, whether king, archbishop, duke, marquis, or of whatsoever station or dignity. Nor does he confine his denunciations to the remote spiritual state of the transgressor; he imprecates vengeance on his body as on his soul. "In all his acts may he feel (the imprecation, no doubt, was intended as a prediction) the vengeance of Almighty God; in every battle may he find his strength fail; may he never obtain a victory, but, prostrate in humble contrition, be abased and confounded, till he is brought to true repentance." Such was the Papal address, sanctioned by a great synod at Rome.[i]

Policy of Gregory.

March 3, 1078.

[h] Ad Germanos, iv. 24.

[i] Ibid. Regest. v. 15

But in the midst of this conflict with the temporal power, it might seem for the life or death of Papal, of sacerdotal Christianity, the doctrinal antagonist of that power had risen again, still pertinaciously determined to know no defeat. Berengar of Tours demands another solemn condemnation. In vain had three Councils—at Paris, at Rome, at Vercelli—issued their decrees; Berengar either treated them with scorn, or with his subtle logic attempted to prove that while they censured they acceded to his doctrines. He had recanted all his enforced recantations, or denied that he had in truth recanted. In vain had one Pope (Leo) committed himself, committed the Papal authority, to the actual censure; in vain his successors, Victor, Nicolas, Alexander, had at least acquiesced in the repudiation of the perilous tenet. In vain had Lanfranc, now Primate of Norman England, and esteemed among the first, if not the first theologian of Christendom, promulgated his refutation. The mere fact that at such a crisis a new council must be held at Rome, that the heresiarch dares again appear to answer for his doctrine, manifests the obstinate vitality, if not the increasing power and expanding influence of Berengar.

Feb. 11, 1079. Berengar of Tours.

But the conduct of Gregory at this council, his treatment of the great heresiarch, is in the strangest contrast with that to his imperial antagonist. Hildebrand, on all questions of Church power so prompt, decisive, instantaneous in his determinations; so impatient of opposition, so merciless to a foe within his power; so pertinacious to crush out the last words of submission where he feels his superiority; so utterly, it should seem conscientiously, remorseless, when the most remote danger can be apprehended or warded off from the vast fabric of the theocracy, from the universal, all-

embracing, as he hoped, eternal ecclesiastical dominion —is now another man. Compare Gregory VII. in the condemnation of Investitures and Gregory in defence of Transubstantiation: Gregory with King Henry at Canossa, and with Berengar at Tours, or at Rome. Hildebrand, it might almost seem for the first time, on this cardinal doctrine, is vacillatory, hesitating, doubtful. He will recur to the Blessed Virgin[k] to enlighten him, and the Blessed Virgin appears to acquit Berengar of any dangerous heresy.[m] He even bears the clamour of the populace.[n] He lays himself open to the bitter taunts which he must well have known that his enemies would seize every opportunity to heap upon him, to protect Berengar from an unjust or too rigorous sentence. He dismisses the heresiarch, it might seem

[k] "Ego planè te de Christi sacrificio secundum Scripturas bene sentire non dubito, tamen quia consuetudinis mihi est ad B. Mariam de his quæ me movent, recurrere, ante aliquot dies imposui religioso cuidam amico jejuniis et orationibus operam dare, atque ita a B. Maria obtinere, ut per eum mihi non taceret." How strange is this! The Pope propitiating the Virgin by another's fasts and prayers, and receiving the oracle, not directly, but through him. His religious friend heard from the Virgin—"a B. Maria audivit"—that Berengar's views were Scriptural. This is Berengar's statement.—Acta Berengarii, Mansi, xix. p. 766.

[m] This vague oath of Berengar was accepted as orthodox. "Profiteor panem altaris post consecrationem esse verum corpus Christi, quod natum est de Virgine, quod passum est in cruce, quod sedet ad dexteram Patris; et vinum altaris, postquam consecratum est, esse verum sanguinem qui manavit de latere Christi. Et sicut ore pronuncio, ita me corde habere confirmo, sic me adjuvet Deus et hæc sacra." There is no word of *transubstantiation.* Luther and the Anglican Church might subscribe this; perhaps, even under the ambiguous *verum*, many other believers. Gregory not only declares that himself, but that Peter Damiani had rejected the views of Lanfranc.—Berengarii Act. Roman. Concil., Mansi xix.

[n] Berengar asserts that he lived a year with the Pope, who supposed that by this creed, and by the assertion of the authority of Damiani, he had restrained or silenced the rabble (turba), but his hopes were vain: the tumult began again, "et ita circa quædam per Papæ inconstantiam" (is this Hildebrand?) "quoad sperabat turba, rei exitus habuit."

uncondemned, or even with honour. Berengar, already censured by former Popes, bears with him in triumph recommendatory letters from Gregory VII.[o] Berengar dies in peace, in full possession of his ecclesiastical dignities.

Was it that from the first the bold logical mind of Berengar at Tours had cast a spell upon Hildebrand? Was it a calm, stern sense of justice, which believed, and dared to assert, that Berengar's opinions had been misrepresented by his blind or malignant enemies? Was it that he was caught in the skilful web of Berengar's dialectics? Was his sagacity at fault for once; and was his keen foresight obtuse to the inevitable consequences which the finer instinctive dread of the greater part of the religious world felt to its very heart, that from the doctrine of Transubstantiation, in its hardest, most material form, once defined, once avowed, once established by the decrees of Popes and Councils, there was no retreat without shaking the sacerdotal power to its base—that bolder men would inevitably either advance on Berengar's opinions, or teach undisguised that which Berengar concealed under specious phraseology? The priest's power, as it was afterwards intrepidly stated, of making God; the miracles which became, or had become so common, to prove, not the spiritual, but the grosser material transmutation, fell away at once: and with it how much of sacerdotal authority, sacerdotal wealth, sacerdotal dominion!—some might suppose of true and humble reverence for the mystery of the Eucharist! With the whole religion, now and for

[o] Literæ commendatitiæ Gregorii VII. datæ Berengario, d'Achery Spicileg. iii. 413. He anathematises those who call Berengar, the son of the Roman Church, a heretic. Gieseler, ii. p. 1, p. 293-4, has quoted the passages with his usual accuracy and copiousness.

some centuries become materialism more or less refined, how perilous spiritualism in its holiest, most august rite! Gregory can hardly have supposed that by mildness, moderation, candour, he could propitiate to silence or to inactivity, the busy, vain heresiarch. Be it as it may, Gregory had to bear, and he can hardly but have foreseen that he should have to bear the reproach that he himself doubted the real presence of the body and blood of the Redeemer in the Sacrament—that he was an infidel.[p]

In the same year with the council which arraigned Berengar, Gregory was reduced, by the increasing successes of Henry, to disavow his legates: the war went on, unheeding his commands, his rebukes, his menaces; even his thunders were drowned in the din of arms; fiercer passions had quelled for a time even religious fears.

October, 1079.

It was not till the unwearied activity, enterprise, courage, and craft of Henry had given him great hopes of final triumph,[q] and the cause of Rudolph, from the divisions which Henry had artfully sowed among his formidable partisans the Saxons, seemed desperate, that Gregory abandoned his temporising policy. Up to this time his ambition might still hope that he might be recognised by the two weary and exhausted parties as the irrefragable arbiter, in the Diet of Germany, of their quarrels; and his prerogative of adjudicating the

[p] "En verus pontifex et verus sacerdos qui dubitat, si illud quod sumitur in dominicâ mensâ, sit verum corpus et sanguis Christi." So writes Egilbert, Archbishop of Treves.—In Eccard. C. H. Medii Ævi, ii. 170. "Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanave ecclesia an Berengarius—dubius in fide, infidelis est."—Benno in Goldast, p. 3.

[q] Bonizo owns Henry to have been "magni consilii et mirabiliter sagax."

crown might be admitted in the face of Christendom by the consentient Teutonic nation.

But the low state of Rudolph's affairs compelled him now to a more decided course. To surrender Rudolph was to surrender himself. If he allowed Rudolph to be utterly crushed, the conqueror of Germany, the head of Northern Italy, with an army flushed with victory, and inured to contempt of things sacred, might descend, irresistible as Charlemagne or Otho, but with far other designs, on Rome; scatter the Tuscans—win, perhaps, the Normans by a share of the plunder—the Normans whom Gregory now held in excommunication, and now in close alliance. A decision in favour of Henry would only increase his strength without in the least slaking his inveterate, treasured, long-provoked vengeance. Hildebrand's old resolution returned. He determined again to wield that weapon which had before served him with such tremendous force: he might almost seem to have reserved the last resource of excommunication for such a perilous crisis.

At Rome, with no solemn trial, on the earnest supplication of Rudolph's ambassadors, notwithstanding the hardy protests from those of Henry, the Archbishop of Bremen and the Bishop of Bamberg, the Pope proceeded again to this terrific sentence; again he pronounced against King Henry the decree of excommunication—of deposition.

A.D. 1080. March 7. Henry again excommunicated.

The Council commenced its proceedings with a strong prohibition against lay investiture, against the acceptance of it by the clergy, the grant by the laity. It then went on to the excommunication of Tedaldo claiming to be Archbishop of Milan, of Guibert of Ravenna, and Roland Bishop of Treviso. The anathema against King Henry was worded with great care and solemnity.

It began with prayer to St. Peter and St. Paul. It repeated the usual declaration of Gregory as to the reluctance with which he had entered into public affairs, and the compulsion which had forced him into the Papacy. It recited the former excommunication, the submission of Henry; declared that the Pope had taken no part in the election of Rudolph, but that Rudolph, thus freely elected, had professed unlimited obedience to the Roman See; that Henry likewise had implored his support against Rudolph; that he had consented to hold a council to decide on their conflicting claims, and anathematised all who should impede the meeting of that Council. The guilt of impeding the Council, and all the crimes and miseries of the civil war, are charged against Henry alone. "Wherefore, trusting in the justice and mercy of God, and of his blessed Mother, the ever-blessed Virgin Mary, on your authority (that of St. Peter and St. Paul), the above-named Henry and all his adherents I excommunicate and bind in the fetters of anathema; on the part of God Almighty, and on yours, I interdict him from the government of all Germany and of Italy. I deprive him of all royal power and dignity. I prohibit every Christian from rendering him obedience as king. I absolve all who have sworn or shall swear allegiance to his sovereignty from their oaths.[r] In every battle may Henry and his

[r] Bernried shows the manner in which the papal power of deposing kings was interpreted by his adherents. In all his extreme acts of power Gregory was under the direct inspiration of the Holy Ghost. "Nemo autem Romanorum Pontificum Reges a regno deponere posse denegabit, quicunque decreta sanctissimi Papæ Gregorii non proscribenda judicabit. Ipse enim vir apostolicus, *cui Spiritus Sanctus in aurem decernenda dictavit*, in apostolicâ sede constitutus, irrefragabiliter decrevit reges a suis dignitatibus cedere, et participatione Dominici corporis et sanguinis carere, si præsumerent jussa apostolicæ sedis contemnere."—Vit. Gregor. vii. c. xcvii.

partisans be without strength, and gain no victory during his life. And that Rudolph, whom the Germans have elected for their king, may he rule and defend that realm in fidelity to you! On your part, I give and grant to those who shall faithfully adhere to the said Rudolph full absolution of all their sins, and in entire confidence blessing in this life and in the life to come. As Henry, for his pride, disobedience, and falsehood, is justly deposed from his royal dignity, so that royal power and dignity is granted to Rudolph, for his humility, obedience, and truth." The censure did not conclude without the personal sentence upon Henry. It proceeded to the broad, bold assertion of more than the absolute supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power; it declared all possessions, all dignities, all powers, to be at the sole disposition of the Church. "Come, then, ye fathers and most holy prelates, let all the world understand and know, that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven, ye have power to take away and to grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men according to their deserts. Ye have often deprived wicked and unworthy men of patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, bishoprics, and bestowed them on religious men. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular! and if ye are to judge angels, who rule over proud princes, what may ye not do to these their servants? Let kings, then, and all the princes of the world learn what ye are, and how great is your power, and fear to treat with disrespect the mandates of the Church; and do ye on the aforesaid Henry fulfil your judgement so speedily that he may know that it is through your power, not by chance, that he hath fallen

—that he be brought to repentance by his ruin, that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord."

Not content with this tremendous excommunication, Gregory ventured to assume the prophetic office. He declared publicly, and either believed himself, or wished others to believe, with the authority of divine revelation, that unless Henry made his submission before the Festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the 29th of June, he would be deposed or dead; and if his vaticination failed, men were to cease to believe in the authority of Gregory.

The Pope acknowledges Rudolph king.

War was thus declared. Gregory, it is said, sent a crown to Rudolph, with an inscription that it was the gift of St. Peter.[3] Henry and the Bishops of his party heard not now with cowering fear, with disordered minds, and distracted counsels, but with the strongest indignation—with the most resolute determination to run all hazards—the anathema of the Pope. It seemed to have lost all its terrors even on the popular mind: no defections took place; no desertions from the court, the council, or the army. All disclaimed at once further allegiance to Gregory. Henry, in a letter to Dietrich, Bishop of Verdun, issued his commands that the princes and prelates of the empire should be summoned to Mentz on the 31st of May to depose the Pope, and to elect a new Head of the Church. At Mentz nineteen Bishops met, and with one voice determined to renounce Hildebrand as Pope. To this decree it was important to obtain the assent of the Lombard prelates. The Bishop of Spires crossed the Alps; the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna assembled their suffragans at

April 12.

[3] "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolfo."

Brixen, in the Tyrol. There, in a synod of thirty bishops, they confirmed the deposition of the false monk Hildebrand, called Gregory VII.[t] To the charges of licentiousness, bribery, and disturbance of the peace of the empire, they added accusations of heresy and necromancy. "We, assembled by the authority of God in this place, having read the letter from the synod of nineteen[r] bishops held at Mentz against the licentious Hildebrand, the preacher of sacrilegious and incendiary doctrines; the defender of perjury and murder; who, as an old disciple of the heretic Berengar, has endangered the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine of the Body and Blood of Christ:[u] the worshipper of divinations and of dreams; the notorious necromancer; himself possessed with an evil spirit, and therefore guilty of departing from the truth; him we adjudge to be canonically deposed and expelled from his see, and unless, on hearing our judgement, he shall descend from his throne, to be condemned for everlasting."[x]

June 25. Gregory deposed.

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[t] "Quod a sæculo non est auditum, ut tot uno tempore inimicus humani generis mente captos contra sanctam Romanam ecclesiam armasset episcopos." —Bonizo, p. 815.

[u] This charge no doubt arose from his acceptance of the ambiguous confession from Berengar (see p. 86); and no doubt much was made of the declaration which Berengar asserted him to have made, that he had received a special message from the Virgin Mary, testifying that the doctrine of Berengar was consonant with the Scriptures. —Acta Concil. in caus. Berengar.; Martene et Durand Thesaur. Anecdot. iv. p. 103.

[x]

Imperialist Prelates.	Papalists.	
Siegfried, Archbishop of Mentz, at first, then neutral,	driven by his fears to be an ardent Hildebrandine after the excommunication.	
Udo ,, ,, Treves, first Papalist, afterwards an Imperialist at the Elster		
Hildorf ,, ,, Cologne.	Wezelin, Archbishop of Magdeburg, killed 1078.	Saxon Insurgents.
Liemar ,, Bremen.	Gebhard ,, ,, Salzburg.	
Rupert, Bishop of Bamberg.	Burchard, Bishop of Halberstadt.	
William ,, Utrecht.	Wezel ,, Hildesheim.	
Eppo ,, Zeitz.	Adalbero Wurtzburg.	
Otho ,, Constance.	Herman Metz.	
Burchard ,, Lausanne.	Altman Passau.	
Burchard ,, Basil.	Adalbert Worms.	
Henry ,, Spires.	Werner Merseburg.	

June 25. Guibert Anti-pope.

And now Guibert of Ravenna attained the object of his ambition; he was elected Pope by the unanimous voice of the assembly. But Christendom had submitted too long to the supremacy of Hildebrand to disbelieve or to question his title to the Popedom. This proceeding would appear to the world, not as a solemn decree of the Church, but as a passionate act of revenge, inflaming both the King and the prelates to overstep their powers. It neither shook the faith of his partisans, nor strengthened in their animosity the enemies of Hildebrand. Guibert was probably more dangerous as Archbishop of Ravenna and Chancellor of Italy than as the Anti-pope Clement III.

Battle of the Elster.

The horrors of civil war might appear to be drawing to a close in Germany. The two armies met for a decisive battle near the Elster. It might seem a religious no less than a civil war. Henry was accompanied to the battle by the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves and fourteen other prelates. The Saxons advanced to the charge, with the bishops of their party and the clergy chanting the eighty-second psalm, "God standeth in the congregation of the princes." At the first

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IMPERIALIST PRELATES.	PAPALISTS.
Werner ,, Strasburg.	
Emmeric ,, Augsburg.	
Poppo ,, Toul.	
Dietrich ,, Verdun.	Hugh, Bishop of Lyons.
Benzo ,, Osnaburg.	
Italians.	*Italians.*
Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna.	Anselm, Bishop of Lucca.
Tedaldo ,, ,, Milan.	Gregory ,, Vercelli.
William, Bishop of Pavia.	Otto ,, Ostia.
Arnulf ,, Cremona.	Reginald ,, Come.
Alexander ,, Placenza.	
,, ,, Spoleto.	
Grisforano ,, Fermo.	
Roland ,, Treviso.	
Cunibert ,, Turin.	
Siegfried ,, Bologna.	
Heribert ,, Modena.	
Elimport ,, Arezzo.	Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Casino

gleam of success, the army of Henry broke out into the "Te Deum laudamus," and when, after the great reverse in the battle, their camp at Erfurt was surprised, they were singing a triumphant Kyrie Eliéson. The defeat of Henry was more than counterbalanced by the fall of his rival. Rudolph, notwithstanding that he was the champion of the Pope, the subject of his triumphant vaticination, was mortally wounded in the battle. Some misgiving as to the justice of his cause embittered his last moments. His hand had been struck off by a sabre: as he gazed on it, he said, "With this hand I ratified my oath of fealty to my sovereign Henry; I have now lost life and kingdom. Bethink ye, ye who have led me on, in obedience to whose counsels I have ascended the throne, whether ye have guided me right."

Oct. 13.

Death of Rudolph.

The death of Rudolph, though it did not restore peace to Germany—though the fatal strife was yet to last many years—paralysed the adversaries of Henry for a time, and gave him leisure to turn his forces against his more irreconcileable enemy.

In the spring of the year 1081 Henry crossed the Alps in far different condition from that in which four years before he had stolen, a deserted and broken-spirited suppliant, to the feet of the Pope. Gregory had been shown in the face of the world a false prophet: Heaven had ratified neither his anathema nor his predictions. Instead of his defeat and death, Henry came in the pride of conquest; and it was his adversary who had fallen, as his friends declared, by the manifest judgement of God, in the battle-field by the Elster. There was now no reluctance to follow him in a war which before seemed sacrilegious and impious: no desertion from his ranks—no defection

Henry in Italy.

from his councils.[y] All Lombardy was zealous in his cause: on the same day that the battle was fought on the Elster the troops of his partisans had defeated those of the Countess Matilda; the allegiance of her subjects was shaken.

The only protectors to whom Gregory could now look were the Normans; but even the Normans, on account of some border disputes about territories, which they refused to abandon at the word of the Pope, were under the ban of excommunication. With them, however, he made a hasty treaty, withdrawing the interdict on the first seeming concession, and condescended to leave in abeyance the contested claims to Fermo. But the Normans, instead of marching, as Gregory proposed, with the Pope at their head, against Ravenna,[z] had embarked on a wild enterprise against the Greek empire, and were besieging Durazzo on the other side of the Adriatic.

May, 1081.

July, 1081.

Still Gregory was as firm in danger and adversity as he had been imperious and disdainful in the height of his power. The very depth of his soul was filled with confidence in the justice of his cause, and the certainty of divine favour. The way to Rome lay open to the army of Henry; the Countess Matilda could not venture on resistance in the field; she retired for security to her fortresses in the Apennines. By Pentecost the Germans and Lombards might be at the gates of Rome, the Germans infuriated by the hard measure dealt to their master; the Lombards by religious as well as by civil animosity. But the inflexible Gregory refused all concession; he indignantly rejected the

[y] All the Italians, Gregory himself repeatedly says, were for Henry.—Regest. ix. 3.

[z] Epist. viii. 7.

advice, the supplications of his adherents, at least to make a show of submission. Even at the time when the vengeance of Henry was rapidly advancing against his undefended foe, he renewed his most imperious proclamations; he wrote to the leader of his partisans in language even for him unprecedentedly bold and contemptuous. The secular power is no longer admitted as, with the sacerdotal, a coincident appointment of God. It has its origin in human wickedness and diabolic suggestion; in blind ambition and intolerable presumption; kingship is an audacious usurpation on the natural equality of man.[a]

Gregory besieged in Rome.

But Rome was under the absolute control of Gregory; it was not merely faithful, it was firm, united, courageous. Cencius had died in exile, and, though magnificently buried by Guibert of Ravenna, his faction seemed to have died with him. The city must have been well provisioned, the fortifications had been strengthened, and more than its outward strength, the old Roman energy and determination, appears to have revived in the hearts of its defenders.[b]

[a] To Herman of Metz. "Quis nesciat reges et duces ab iis habuisse principium, qui Deum ignorantes superbiâ, rapinis, perfidiâ, homicidiis, postremo universis pæne sceleribus, mundi principe diabolo scilicet aptante *super pacis scilicet homines*, dominari cæcâ cupiditate et intolerabili præsumptione affectaverint." Are we reading a journalist of Paris in 1791? Every king, he proceeds, on his death-bed, as a humble and pitiful suppliant implores the assistance of a priest to save him from the eternal dungeon of hell. Can a king baptize? Can a king make the body and blood of Christ by a word (quis eorum potest proprio ore corpus et sanguinem Domini conficere)? What king has ever wrought miracles (we say not as the apostles or the martyrs) but as St. Martin, St. Anthony, or St. Benedict? Could Constantine, Theodosius, Honorius, Charles, or Louis, the most Christian kings?—Ibid.

[b] Two senators of Rome, according to Benzo, had been present in the Council at Brixen, and promised to surrender Rome. They termed the Pope's supporters "prevaricatores," but they admit that Gregory had *fascinated* the Romans—Introduct. ad Lib. vi. p. 1044.

For three successive years Henry encamped under the walls of Rome, while the Pope within those impregnable walls, which the Germans did not venture at first even to attempt to storm, held him at defiance, and all this time the Romans, for once, maintained their fidelity. The wealth of Matilda, it is said, assisted in securing their loyalty.

May, 1081.

Year after year, summer, by its intolerable heats, and by the sickness, which constantly spread among the German troops, relieved the Pope and his city from the presence of his enemies. In the first year the army broke up in the beginning of July; the next the siege or blockade lasted no longer than Easter. In the third Henry lay encamped against the Leonine city, on the right bank of the Tiber, from Christmas to the beginning of June. All his attempts to storm the city or to make a practicable breach in the walls had been in vain. An accident made him master of this part of Rome. While both parties were in profound repose, two followers of the Archbishop of Milan stole under a part of the walls which had been slightly broken. They climbed up, found the sentinels asleep, killed them, got possession of a tower, and made a signal to the royal army, which advanced rapidly to their support. The Leonine city was thus lost; but the Pope threw himself into the castle of St. Angelo, and the whole of Rome on the left bank of the Tiber still defied the enemy.[c]

Three years' siege. July 7, 1081. Christmas, 1081, to Easter (April 24), 1082. 1083.

June 9, 1083.

The Romans at length grew weary of enduring the miseries of a siege; there seemed no hope of speedy relief from the Normans. The resources of Gregory,

[c] Bernold. Chronicon. sub ann.

which as yet had been amply supplied by Matilda, began to fail. The Eastern Emperor Alexius, attacked in his own dominions by Robert Guiscard, had entered into close alliance with Henry, and supplied him with large sums of money, which were unscrupulously distributed among the wavering Romans.[d]

Negotiations. July.

At this juncture negotiations were commenced, but with profound mistrust, and undissembled conviction that Henry on his side would observe no oaths. The Pope had openly asserted his own prerogative of releasing from all oaths. Henry offered to accept the imperial crown from the hand of Hildebrand. By this proposition he recognised the right of Gregory to the papal see, and threw aside his own anti-pope, Guibert of Ravenna. But under this lurked subtle policy. If he accepted these terms, Gregory annulled at once all his former acts, pronounced his own excommunication unjust, and that he who had been declared unworthy to rule as king, was now fit to receive from the hands of the Pope the imperial crown. If he rejected these overtures, which wore the appearance of moderation, on him lay all the blame of the prolonged contest; the charge of inexorably pursuing his own imperious views, even in these desperate times, at any cost of human bloodshed and misery, even at the hazard of endangering the Papacy itself.

Firmness of Gregory.

Not less sagacious than intrepid and inflexible, Gregory maintained as lofty a tone as if Henry were still at his feet at Canossa. He demanded unconditional submission: "Let the King lay down his crown, and give satisfaction to the Church."

d "Cumque pecuniâ et terrore et vi omnes fere sibi acquisivisset Romanos." —Bonizo.

The clergy and the laity — bishops, abbots, monks, entreated him to have mercy on the afflicted city. The Romans, implored, clamoured, murmured, menaced his unyielding obstinacy. Hildebrand despised alike supplications, murmurs and menaces.

The Romans at length, at once assailed by bribes and fears, declared in favour of Henry. They took the management of the treaty into their own hands. The Pope was to summon a General Council for the middle of November; the Emperor to grant safe-conduct to all who might attend it. Rome, in the mean time, was to observe a kind of independent neutrality. But the Roman leaders agreed, at the same time, on a separate, perhaps a secret article, that at the appointed time, either Gregory himself, or another Pope elected for that purpose, should present Henry with the imperial crown. They gave twenty hostages for the fulfilment of this treaty.

The Romans waver.

The troops of Henry were suffering from heat and from fevers. He hastily ran up a fort on a small hill called the Palatiolus, left a garrison of one hundred knights, with Ulric of Cosheim, which commanded the Leonine city, and departed to subdue the fortresses of Gregory's faithful ally the Countess Matilda.[e] He wasted Tuscany with fire and sword. The subjects of Matilda, even some of the strongest episcopal partisans of Hildebrand, began either openly to revolt, or to make separate terms with Henry. Adelheid, the Marchioness of Susa, attempted to negotiate a treaty between the King and the Papalist Countess. The Anti-Pope assailed her with flattering letters. But Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, counteracted

Henry in Tuscany.

[e] Compare throughout Benzo apud Mencken.—Lib. vi.

all the intrigues of the royal party: he raised troops to revenge the burning of Matilda's castles by burning those of the chieftains who had revolted to the King. He bribed as boldly as he fought; and if the womanly fears of Matilda, or her gentler feelings towards her afflicted subjects had shaken her stedfast mind, she neither dared nor wished to shake off the commanding control of the martial Bishop.[f]

The Council met on the 20th of November: but it was not a full assembly of stately prelates, but a few, and those exclusively of Hildebrand's party. Those who had already committed themselves by acknowledging the Anti-Pope could not obey the summons of Hildebrand, as they could hardly hope, on his own ground to overbear him by numbers. They stood aloof; and moreover, the titles of most of these would have been called in question. Henry, on his side, foreseeing the predominance of the Papal party prevented some of Hildebrand's avowed partisans, Anselm of Lucca, Hugh of Lyons, Reginald of Como, and Otto of Ostia, from approaching Rome. Gregory displayed his highest eloquence in his address to this assembly, which sat for three days in melancholy deliberation. He spake, it is said, with the voice of an angel, not of a man; and the groans and sobs of almost all present acknowledged his still prevailing power over their hearts and minds. Their prudence, however, restrained them from repeating, in this trying hour, the sentence of excommunication. The censure of the Church was only uttered against those who had presumed to prevent the prelates from attending the council, and, as in the case of the Bishop of Ostia, to seize their persons.

Nov. 20, 1083.

[f] There is a Life, or rather a legend, of Anselm of Lucca, in Pertz, xiv. 1.

But a more seasonable succour arrived: a gift of 30,000 pieces of gold (Eastern plunder) from Robert Guiscard. The mercenary Romans were again faithful subjects of the Pope; and when Henry, once more under the walls, demanded the fulfilment of the treaty, they evaded their oaths both by the most insolent mockery and pitiful casuistry. They had promised that the Pope should *give the crown*, not that he should crown and anoint the King. They proposed, and the Representative of all Truth sanctioned their proposition, that if penitent, and his penitence implied his resignation of his authority into the hands of the Pope, he should receive the crown, with the Papal benediction.* If not, he should still receive the crown—it was to be let down upon a rod from the Castle of St. Angelo. Such was the power and holiness of oaths!

Succours of money from the Normans.

Henry renewed the siege with the resolute determination to hear no further terms from his stubborn and treacherous foe. But the city still held out. His garrison had been obliged by sickness to abandon the fort on the Palatiolus and his other works. All was to recommence anew. He made some predatory incursions into Campania, and, perhaps to watch any hostile movements of Robert Guiscard, into Apulia. But Germany imperatively required his presence; his interests there were in peril; and in despair of success against Rome, he was actually about to give orders for his retreat. Suddenly an embassy arrived from the Romans (the gold pieces of Guiscard were now, no doubt, exhausted, and those of Henry more lavishly distributed),* offering to surrender the city. Hildebrand hastily retired into the Castle of St. Angelo; and from its walls the haughty Pope might behold far off the excommunicated King and his rival

Henry master of Rome. Christmas, 1083.

Pope entering in triumph through the Lateran gate. He saw the procession pass, as it were, under his feet, first to an assembly of prelates to elect the Pope. He had to endure the mockery of a summons to this hostile Council, which affected to wait three days for his appearance;[g] and then again on Palm Sunday he saw them pass, to the consecration of Guibert of Ravenna in the Church of St. Peter. Guibert was consecrated by the Bishops of Modena, Bologna, and Arezzo. On Easter Day the King, with his wife Bertha, passed in state to the Vatican, to receive the imperial crown from the hands of Clement III. A few feeble attempts by his adherents to excite tumult, and to maintain some strongholds in the city, were suppressed by the troops of Henry. Gregory was a prisoner—a prisoner who, it might seem, must soon be compelled by despair, by famine, or by treachery, to yield himself up to the unslaked vengeance of the King.

A.D. 1084. March 29.

Tidings, however, soon arrived which at once changed the aspect of affairs. Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino, arrived in Rome, and communicated both to the Emperor and to the Pontiff that Robert Guiscard was rapidly advancing at the head of 6000 knights and 30,000 foot. It was a strange army of the faith: from every quarter men had rushed to his banner, some to rescue the Pope, others from love of war. The Saracens had enlisted in great numbers.

Approach of the Normans. April.

The news was as appalling to Henry as welcome to the Pope. His army was not strong enough to cope with this formidable host. He made the Romans swear fidelity to their Cæsar; he took forty hostages; he destroyed part of the fortifications

Early in May.

[g] "Expectatur per triduum delitescendo."—Benzo, proleg. ad L. vii.

which had resisted his power, the Castle on the Capitoline Hill, and some of the walls of the Leonine city. He then retired towards Civita Castellana.

Three days after he had evacuated the city, appeared the Norman army under the walls. The Romans had reason to dread—they cordially hated (their hatred affected the tone of contempt) these barbarous Northmen. The gates were closed; the walls manned for defence. But on the first day the Normans surprised the gate of St. Lorenzo: the city, which had for three years defied the besieging army of Henry, was at once in their power.[h] The first act of the dutiful son of the Church was to release the Pope from his imprisonment in the Castle of St. Angelo. He conducted him with the utmost respect to the Lateran Palace. But Gregory must now witness those horrors which, as long as they afflicted Germany or Northern Italy, he had contemplated unmoved, intent on building up his all-ruling Theocracy. From the feet of the Pope, having just received his blessing, the Normans spread through the city, treating it with all the cruelty of a captured town, pillaging, violating, murdering, wherever they met with opposition. The Romans had been surprised, not subdued. For two days and nights they brooded over their vengeance; on the third day they broke out in general insurrection, rushed armed into the streets, and began a terrible carnage of their conquerors. The Normans were feasting in careless security; but with the discipline of practised soldiers they flew to arms; the whole city was one wild conflict. The Norman horse poured into the

Normans take the city.

Insurrection.

[h] "Non per triennium ut Henricus, sed sequente die, quam venit, perfidam civitatem cepit."—Bonizo.

Ravages of Normans.

streets, but the Romans fought at advantage, from their possession of the houses and their knowledge of the ground. They were gaining the superiority; the Normans saw their peril. The remorseless Guiscard gave the word to fire the houses. From every quarter the flames rushed up—houses, palaces, convents, churches, as the night darkened, were seen in awful conflagration. The distracted inhabitants dashed wildly into the streets, no longer endeavouring to defend themselves, but to save their families. They were hewn down by hundreds. The Saracen allies of the Pope had been the foremost in the pillage, and were now the foremost in the conflagration and the massacre. No house, no monastery, was secure from plunder, murder, rape. Nuns were defiled, matrons forced, the rings cut from their living fingers.[1] Gregory exerted himself, not without success, in saving the principal churches. It is probable, however, that neither Goth nor Vandal, neither Greek nor German, brought such desolation on the city as this capture by the Normans. From this period dates the desertion of the older part of the city, and its gradual extension over the site of the modern city, the Campus Martius.

Guiscard was at length master of the ruins of Rome, but the vengeance of the Pope's deliverer was yet unappeased. Many thousand Romans were sold publicly as slaves—many carried into the remotest parts of Cala-

[1] "Itaque gens diversa, de Deo ignara, sceleribus ac homicidiis edocta, adulteriis variisque fornicationibus assuefacta, omnibus criminibus quæ ferro et igne, talibus agi solet negotiis, sese furialiter immerserat: quin etiam virgines sacratas corrumpentes, miserorumque Romanorum uxores incestantes ac annulos earum digitis, detruncantes."—Landulph Sen. iv. 3. The hostile writer lays all to Gregory's charge. "Cum Roberto exiliens, Salernum profectus est. Ubi per pauca vivens tempora tanquam malorum pœnam emeritus, interiit."

bria.[k] We have heard no remonstrance from the Bishop, from the Sovereign of Rome, on this hateful alliance with the enemies of the faith, the Saracens. Of this, perhaps, he was ignorant when in the Castle of St. Angelo. No powerful intercession is now made—no threatened excommunication is now menaced—in behalf of his rebellious, his perfidious, yet subdued subjects—most of the sufferers, no doubt, guiltless and defenceless. The ferocious Guiscard is still recognised as his ally, his deliverer, his protector, perhaps his avenger.

Unprotected by his foreign guard the Pope could not now trust himself in the city, which would, no doubt, and not without justice, attribute its ruin and misery to his obstinacy. In the company of Robert Guiscard, oppressed with shame and affliction, he retired from the smoking ruins and the desolated streets of the city of St. Peter, first to the monastery of Monte Casino, afterwards to the Norman's strong castle of Salerno. From Salerno, unshaken by the horrors which he had witnessed or the perils he had escaped, Hildebrand thundered out again the unmitigated excommunication against Henry, the Anti-Pope Clement, and all their adherents.[m]

Gregory retires from Rome.

July, 1084.

[k] Bonizo relates and triumphs in this act of vengeance. "Dehinc apud Lateranense palatium per multos dies degens" (the Pope, too, was in the Lateran palace) "multa millia Romanorum vendidit *ut Judæos*; quosdam vero captivos duxit usque Calabriam; et tali pœnâ digni erant multari, qui ad similitudinem Judæorum pastorem suorum tradiderant."

[m] "At quia Normannorum instabilitas urbe capta, et prædæ data, multa mala perpetraverit, nobilium Romanorum filias stuprando et nocentes pariter innocentesque pari pœnâ affligendo, nullumque modum, uti victoribus mos est, in rapinâ, crudelitate, direptione habendo . . . veritusque ne duce recedente infidelitas Romana exagitata recrudesceret, et quos antea habuerit quasi fidos amicos, pateretur infidos, cedendum tempori arbitratus, Salernum se contulit." — Hugon. Chron. ii.; Pertz, viii. p. 462.

To Rome Gregory never returned: death came slowly upon him at Salerno. He spoke even to the end with undoubting confidence on the goodness of his cause, and his assurance that he was departing to Heaven. He gave a general absolution to mankind; but from this all-embracing act of mercy he excepted his deadly enemies, and those of the Church, Henry so called the King, the usurping Pontiff Guibert, and those who were their counsellors and abettors in their ungodly cause. His last memorable words have something of proud bitterness: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile." The words might not be intended as an arraignment of Divine Providence, but where was the beauty of resignation? or was it a Pharisaic reproach on the wickedness of mankind, blind and ungrateful to his transcendant virtues? "In exile," said a Churchman of congenial feelings, whose priestly pride was not rebuked by that spectacle of mortality, "in exile thou couldst not die! Vicar of Christ and his Apostles, thou hast received the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession!"[n]

His death.

May 25, 1085.

Gregory is the Cæsar of spiritual conquest; the great and inflexible assertor of the supremacy of the sacerdotal order. The universal religious Autocracy, the Caliphate, with the difference that the temporal power was accessory to the spiritual, not the spiritual an hereditary appendage to the temporal supremacy, expanded itself upon the austere yet imaginative mind of Gregory as the perfect Idea of the Christian Church. The theory of Augustine's City of God,

Character of Gregory.

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[n] Bernried, 109, 110.

no doubt, swam before the mind of the Pontiff, in which a new Rome was to rise and rule the world by religion. Augustine's theory, indeed, was aristocratic rather than monarchical, or rather the monarchical power remained centred in the Invisible Lord—in Christ himself. To the Pope there could be no Rome without a Cæsar, and the Cæsar of the spiritual monarchy was himself: in him was gathered and concentred all power, that of the collective priesthood and episcopacy; it flowed from him with a kind of Pantheistic emanation, and was reabsorbed in him. But, unhappily, that ideal Pope is as purely imaginary as an ideal King, or an ideal Republic governed by virtue alone. The Pope was to be a man elected by men. If this spiritual monarchy either could confine, or had attempted to confine that universal authority to which it aspired, or that vast authority which it actually obtained over the hopes and fears of men, to purposes purely and exclusively spiritual: if it could have contented itself with enforcing, and by strictly religious means, an uniformity—a wise and liberal uniformity—an uniformity expanding with the expansion of the human intellect, of Christian faith and practice and Christian virtue throughout the whole Christian community: if it had restrained itself, in its warfare, to the extirpation of evil, to the promotion of social and domestic virtue; if in its supremacy over kings, to the suppression of unchristian vices, tyranny, injustice, inhumanity; over mankind at large, to moral transgressions and infringements on the rights and persons and property of others: if it had taught invariably by Christian means of persuasion; if it had always kept the ultimate end of all religion in view, the happiness of mankind through Christian holiness and love: then pos-

terity might wisely regret that this higher than Platonic vision was never realised; that mankind are receding further than ever from the establishment in this form of the Christian commonwealth of nations. But throughout the contest of many centuries the sacerdotal supremacy was constantly raising the suspicion, too well grounded, that power, not the beneficial use of power, was its final object. It was occasionally popular, even democratic, in assisting the liberties of men, as in later times, in its alliance with the Italian republics; but it was too manifestly not from the high and disinterested love of freedom, but from jealousy of any other Lord over the liberties of men but itself. In this respect Gregory was the type, the absolute model and example of the spiritual monarch. Posterity demands whether his imperial views, like those of the older Cæsar, were not grounded on the total prostration of the real liberty of mankind; even in the prostration of the liberty of the subordinate sacerdotal order. It was a magnificent Idea, but how was it reconcileable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity, that an order of men—that one single man—had thrust himself without authority, to an extent men began early to question, between man and God—had arrayed himself, in fact, in secondary divinity? Against his decrees every insurrection of the human mind was treason; every attempt to limit his power impiety. Even if essentially true, this monarchical autocracy was undeniably taught and maintained, and by none more than by Hildebrand, through means utterly at variance with the essence of Christianity, at the sacrifice of all the higher principles, by bloody and desolating wars, by civil wars with all their horrors, by every kind of human misery. Allow the utmost

privilege of the age—of a warlike, a ferocious age, in which human life had no sanctity or security—yet this demand of indulgence for the spirit of the times is surely destructive of the claim to be immutable Christianity: the awful incongruity between the Churchman and the Christian, between the Representative of the Prince of Peace and the Prince of Peace himself, is fatal to the whole.

Yet in a lower view, not as a permanent, eternal, immutable law of Christianity, but as one of the temporary phases, through which Christianity, in its self-accommodation to the moral necessities of men, was to pass, the hierarchical, the Papal power of the Middle Ages, by its conservative fidelity, as guardian of the most valuable reliques of antiquity, of her arts, her laws, her language; by its assertion of the superiority of moral and religious motives over the brute force of man; by the safe guardianship of the great primitive and fundamental truths of religion, which were ever lurking under the exuberant mythology and ceremonial; above all by wonderful and stirring examples of the most profound, however ascetic devotion, of mortification and self-sacrifice and self-discipline, partially, at least, for the good of others; by splendid charities, munificent public works, cultivation of letters, the strong trust infused into the mind of man, that there was some being even on earth whose special duty it was to defend the defenceless, to succour the succourless, to be the refuge of the widow and orphan, to be the guardian of the poor; all these things, with all the poetry of the Middle Ages, in its various forms of legend, of verse, of building, of music, of art, may justify, or rather command mankind to look back upon these fallen idols with reverence, with admiration, and with

gratitude. The hierarchy of the Middle Ages counterbalances its vast ambition, rapacity, cruelty, by the most essential benefits to human civilisation. The Papacy itself is not merely an awful, but a wonderful institution. Gregory VII. himself is not contemplated merely with awe, but in some respects, and with great drawbacks, as a benefactor of mankind.

CHAPTER IV.

Gregory's Successors.

GREGORY VII. had died in exile, overpowered, if unsubdued; a fugitive before the face of his enemies, yet disdaining to yield one point of his lofty pretensions. But who would take his place and maintain with equal vigour and intrepidity the imperilled Papacy? The last of that race of men who had laboured with Hildebrand for the establishment of the Italian, monastic, Hildebrandine Papacy, was Desiderius, the Abbot of Monte Casino:[a] the sharer in his counsels, his supporter in all his difficulties. Gregory had already designated, on one occasion, Desiderius as the future Pope; and when his faithful adherents pressed around him, to endeavour to obtain from his dying lips the nomination of his successor, he had in the first instance named Desiderius; in default of his acceptance of the office (which Gregory seems to have anticipated) he added three Prelates, Otto of Ostia, Hugh of Lyons, and Anselm of Lucca. Even in Salerno Desiderius was urged to accept the Pontificate; but he was advanced in years; he was determined not to abandon the holy quiet of Monte Casino. He retired to his monastery, and was followed by the Cardinals and Bishops of the party, still pressing upon him the onerous distinc-

Election of Desiderius, Victor III.

[a] On Desiderius, his wealth and magnificence, his splendid buildings and pomp at Monte Casino, see Tosti, lib. iii.

tion.[b] His obstinate humility resisted their flattering importunities. But he acquiesced in the necessity of taking measures to elect a legitimate Pope, under the protection of the Countess Matilda. The summer heats prevented any approach to Rome. In the autumn, apprehending that they were about to compel him to assume the office, he exacted a promise from the Roman Cardinals and Bishops, from the Norman Princes, from Jordano of Capua, and Count Rainulf, that they would neither themselves use any violence to compel him to be Pope, nor permit others to do so. Thus passed a year. In the mean time, the Anti-Pope, Clement III., ruled in part of Rome; his progress excited increasing apprehension. At Easter many Cardinals and Prelates ventured to enter Rome from different quarters; they sent to summon Desiderius, and the Bishops and Cardinals who had taken refuge in Monte Casino, with Gysulf, Prince of Salerno. Desiderius, not suspecting any design upon himself, hastened with his Bishops to Rome. On the eve of Pentecost there was a great assemblage of the clergy, and the diaconate in the Church of Saint Lucia; again the Pontificate was pressed on Desiderius by the unanimous voice; again he refused it, and threatened to return to Monte Casino. A private meeting was held between the leaders of the ecclesiastical party and Cencius, the Consul of Rome (a Cencius now on the high Papalist side); it was determined to elect the Bishop of Ostia, with the singular provision that Desiderius should pledge himself to receive the new Pope in his impregnable

May 25, 1085. May 24, 1086.

[b] Waltram de Unit. Eccles. gives a list of the German bishops on each side after Gregory's death in 1085. Some bishops, Aldelbero of Wurtzburg, gave up their sees. Henry filled up all these vacancies: in Metz, however, there was no episcopal function performed for ten years.—P. 315.

fortress convent of Monte Casino, to assist his cause, and protect him from all his enemies. Desiderius consented at once; and with the abbot's crosier, which he held in his hand, pledged the fealty of his people. Another public assemblage took place, more crowded, more imposing; the suffrages were nearly all united in favour of the Bishop of Ostia; when a Cardinal arose, and urged the objection which had so often before been overruled, that the translation of a Bishop from one see to another was against the Canons. The whole assembly rose, seized the struggling Desiderius, hurried him into the Church of Saint Lucia, and proclaimed him Pope, under the name of Victor III. Desiderius, to show his unyielding reluctance, though arrayed in the scarlet cope, refused to put on the alb.

A.D. 1087.

The Imperial Prefect, overawed by the Norman forces, which, under Gysulf, Prince of Salerno, had accompanied Desiderius to Rome, and by the powerful Cencius, had not ventured to disturb these proceedings. But the Prince of Salerno seized the opportunity of demanding the consecration of a creature of his own as the Archbishop of that city; this was sternly refused by Desiderius and his Bishops. The Prefect seized the opportunity of the defection of Gysulf; collected some troops, seized the Capitol, and threatened the safety of the New Pope. Four days after his election Desiderius fled from Rome; he remained three days at Ardea; at Terracina he put off all the Papal insignia, returned to Monte Casino, the simple Abbot, as if determined to close his days in peace in his humbler sphere: no remonstrances, no representations of the desolate condition of the Church, could induce him to resume his state; for nearly a whole year the Church remained without an ostensible head; the Anti-

May 27.

Pope Guibert without a rival. Otto, Bishop of Ostia, had quietly submitted to the loss of the tiara, which had so nearly fallen upon his head, and thus paved the way for his own speedy election as Urban II.

Hugh of Lyons.

Hugh of Lyons has left a bitter record of his disappointed ambition: he was absent from Rome at the time of the election, but acquiesced in the inauguration of Desiderius. He visited Monte Casino; and if there be the shadow of truth in the incredible scheme which, writing to the Countess Matilda, he declares that he heard from the lips of Desiderius, and from other bishops to whose testimony he refers the Countess, Desiderius must have contemplated a total departure from the policy of Pope Gregory. He openly asserted that Victor III. had consented to crown King Henry; more incredible still, he averred that the invasion of the patrimony of St. Peter by Henry was with Victor's cognisance and assent. Pope Victor III. was guilty of other acts of treason against the memory of Gregory: he declared one Bishop elect, though absolved by Gregory, still under excommunication; Atto of Milan, though he had died impenitent, unabsolved from his excommunication, to be among the blessed; and that himself should desire no higher place in glory than that of Atto.[c] His ordinary conversation was a continued reproval of the acts of Gregory; he had even proposed the election of a German Pope, Herman of Metz. These are either calumnies, utterly groundless and sheerly mendacious, or exaggerations of some peaceful counsels which Desiderius, weary of strife, and under the fond hope of restoring peace to the Church, may have ventured to suggest in his holy solitude.

March 21.

Mid-Lent,

[c] The two letters of Hugh of Lyons, to Matilda in Labbé Concil.—P. 414.

Early in the spring, not two weeks after his retirement, assembled at Capua many Bishops and Cardinals; among the latter, Otto of Ostia and Hugh of Lyons, Cencius the Consul of Rome, Jordano Prince of Capua, and Roger Duke of Apulia, with other Norman princes, as Hugh of Lyons no doubt hoped, to elect a new Pope. But the partisans of Desiderius, at his own secret suggestions (according to the malicious statement of Hugh of Lyons), or rather the whole assembly, urged Desiderius, even with prayers and tears, to resume his Pontificate. After two days' resistance, he yielded at length; and notwithstanding the remonstrances of Otto and the stricter Cardinals, submitted to pay what seemed the price of hearty support from the Norman Princes; he submitted to the consecration of Alfanus, who was accused of aspiring to the see by unlawful means, as Archbishop of Salerno. He returned on Palm Sunday to Monte Casino, where he celebrated Easter. He then advanced, under the escort of the Princes of Capua and Salerno, crossed the Tiber near the city of Ostia, which perhaps its Bishop maintained in his allegiance; and pitched his tents before the Church of St. Peter, now occupied, or rather garrisoned by the Anti-Pope Guibert. A sudden attack of the Norman soldiery made him master of the Church. On the Sunday after Ascension, in the presence of multitudes of the Normans, chiefly from the Transteverine region, where his party predominated, he was consecrated by the Roman Bishops of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, and Alba, with many other Cardinals and Prelates. But he ventured on no long stay in the insecure capital; after eight days he retired to Bari, and thence to Monte Casino.

Desiderius resumes the Pontificate.

May 9.

Shortly afterwards the Countess Matilda entered

Rome; she sent earnest messages to the Pope; it was chiefly to see and to enjoy the converse of the Holy Pontiff, that she had gone to Rome. Victor, though labouring under the infirmities of age and sickness, embarked on the coast, and landed at Ostia. He was received with the utmost respect by the Countess Matilda. His partisans were still in possession of St. Peter's; on St. Barnabas' Day he celebrated mass on the high altar. The day closed with a sudden irruption of the forces of Matilda and the Pope into the city itself, which was chiefly in the possession of the Anti-Pope. Victor was master of the whole Transteverine region, of St. Peter's, of the Castle of St. Angelo, and considerable part of Rome, with the cities of Ostia and Porto. But on St. Peter's Eve an Imperial messenger arrived; he summoned the Senators, the Consuls, and the people of Rome, on their allegiance to the crown, to abandon the cause of Victor. The versatile people rose on his side, drove out the troops of Matilda, who still from the heights above maintained possession of the Church of St. Peter. This became the centre of the bloody strife; men warred with the utmost fury as to who should celebrate the Apostle's holyday in his great church.[d] Neither party obtained this triumph; the altar remained the whole day without light, incense, or sacrifice; for the discomfited troops of the Pope were forced to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo; those of the Anti-Pope did not yet venture to take possession of the Church. Guibert cele-

Countess Matilda.

[d] According to the Chronicon Augustense Guibert was absent from Rome when it was thus surprised by his rival Victor. That Chronicle gives the darker and Imperialist character of Desiderius and his proceedings. He is accused of buying the Norman aid, and by that purchased aid alone he obtained a triumph for the monkish party.—Apud Freher., vol. i.

brated high mass in the neighbouring Church of Santa Maria with the two towers or belfries, from both of which he had just smoked or burned out the garrison. The next day the partisans of Guibert took possession of St. Peter's, washed the altar clean from the pollution of the hostile mass, and then celebrated the holy Eucharist. But their triumph, too, was short; the following day they were again driven out; and Pope Victor ruled in St. Peter's.

Yet Victor dared not remain in Rome; he retired again to his Monte Casino.[e] In August a council was held at Benevento. Pope Victor III. presided in the assembly, and renewed in the strongest terms the excommunication of Guibert the Anti-Pope, who, by the aid of the Imperial arms, not fearing the judgement of the great Eternal Emperor, had filled Rome with every kind of violence, crime, and bloodshed, invaded the pontifical throne, and driven forth the rightful Pope. To this excommunication was subjoined another against Hugh of Lyons and the Abbot of Marseilles. The abbot had been party to the election of Pope Victor. The archbishop had offered his allegiance, implored and received from him the legation to France. Yet their ambition, disappointed of the Papacy, had driven them into open schism; they had cut themselves off from the Roman Church, and therefore, as self-condemned heretics, were excluded from that communion. The

[e] The monks of Monte Casino boasted of a wonder which took place at the shrine of St. Benedict. Among the pilgrims who approached the altar was one in ecclesiastical attire. He was asked who he was; he replied, "St. Peter. I am come to celebrate the day of my martyrdom at the altar of my brother Benedict; since I cannot stay at Rome, where my church is desecrated by strife and war." The monks of Monte Casino celebrated from thenceforth St. Peter's day with the same solemnity as that of St. Benedict, a comparison which provokes the indignant remonstrance of Cardinal Baronius.

condemnation was renewed of all who should receive the investiture to any ecclesiastical benefice whatever from the hands of the laity. But even before the close of the council Victor was seized with a mortal malady. He had hardly time to retire to Monte Casino, to order the affairs of his monastery, to commend Oderisi as his successor to the abbacy of Monte Casino, the Bishop of Ostia to the throne of the Pontificate. He died in three days.

Death of Victor III.

A.D. 1087. Sept. 16.

In those times of blind and obstinate mutual hostility no rapid death, common enough, especially in that climate, could take place without suggesting a providential judgement, or something out of the course of nature. In Germany it was rumoured and believed that the Pope, while celebrating mass, in ratification of the excommunicating decrees of the council, was seized with his mortal pains,[f] and that his fœtid body was hardly removed from the church. Later writers, with no ground whatever, imputed his death to poison administered in the sacred chalice.[g]

[f] Chronicon Augustense sub ann.
[g] Dandulus in Chronic. T. xii. Rer. Ital. Martinus Polonus.

CHAPTER V.

Urban II.

THE Pontificate of Urban II. is one of the great epochs in the history of the Papacy and of Latin Christianity. The first Crusade united Christendom in one vast warlike confederacy; and at the head of that confederacy the Pope, by common consent, took his proper place. The armies were the armies of the faith, and therefore the armies of him who represented the chief apostle of the faith. From the Pope they derived, what they believed their divine commission; they were his martial missionaries to recover, not for any one Christian prince, but for Christianity itself, that territory to which it asserted an indefeasible title. The land in which the Saviour of mankind was born and died, could not but be the domain, the seignorial possession of the Christian Church.

But the Crusade belongs to the later period of Urban's Pontificate.

On the death of Victor III. the scattered and disorganised monastic or Hildebrandine party was struck almost with despair: yet messengers were sent on all sides to rally their ecclesiastical forces. It was not till above five months had elapsed, that a Council, summoned by a number of bishops, assembled at Monte Casino, and by the counsel of Oderisi, the Abbot, the successor of Desiderius, met at Terracina; for Rome was in the power of the enemy. The number of

A.D. 1088. March 12.

archbishops, bishops, and abbots was forty. The Bishop of Porto, with the Bishop of Tusculum, represented the Roman clergy; the Prefect Benedict appeared, and boasted that he bore the unanimous suffrage of the Roman people. There were ambassadors from some Ultramontane prelates, and from the Countess Matilda. After a solemn fast of three days the Bishop of Ostia was elected by acclamation, arrayed in the pontifical robes, and placed on the pontifical throne.

March 13, 1088.

Otto, Bishop of Ostia, was by birth a Frenchman, of Rheims or of some town in the neighbourhood. He had been brought up under the severe monastic discipline of Clugny: to embrace this rule he had surrendered the dignity of a canon at Rheims. His instructor had been the famous Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian Order. There was no more bold or sincere assertor of ecclesiastical power; his hostility towards the Emperor had been embittered by his imprisonment and hard usage during the time that he was in the power of Henry. Urban lost no time in proclaiming himself as the elected Pope to the sovereigns of Christian Europe.[a]

Some sudden and unexplained revolution enabled Urban to hold a council at Rome in the year after his election. It is probable that the reconciliation, through his intervention, between the sons of Robert Guiscard, Roger and Bohemond, may have placed some Norman forces at his command. One hundred and fifteen bishops ventured to assemble around the Pope.[b] The excommunication against the Simonians and the Anti-

[a] Urbani Epist. apud Martene et Durand. A. C. i. 520.

[b] Among Urban's first acts was the elevation of the Archbishop of Toledo, now won from the Saracens, to the primacy of Spain.—Florez. España Sagrada, vi. 347.

Pope was renewed in unmitigated rigour: on the Emperor he seems to have preserved a cautious silence. Guibert, shut up by the Romans in one of the strong fortresses of the city, began to enter into negotiations for his peaceful departure. But neither did Urban venture to take up his residence in Rome. He retired to the faithful south: at Amalfi he summoned another council, the decrees of which were marked by the sternly monastic character of the Hildebrandine school.[c]

Urban had all the resolute firmness of Gregory, but firmness less aggressive, and tempered with the wisdom of the serpent. His subtler policy was more dangerous, and eventually more fatal, to the Imperial cause, than the more bold and violent oppugnancy of Hildebrand. The times needed consummate prudence. Even in the south the Normans were but uncertain allies, and protectors who rarely failed to exact some grant or privilege in return for their protection. Rome was on that party which at the time could awe her with the greatest power or win her by the most lavish wealth. The Countess Matilda still faithfully maintained the Papal interests in the north of Italy; she still firmly rejected the claims of the Anti-Pope; and had taken great part in the election, first of Victor III., now of Urban II. But Anselm of Lucca, who had ruled her mind with his religious authority, was now dead; the firmness, even the fidelity, of Matilda might yield to the overpowering strength of the Imperial party. A terrible event showed the ferocity with which the hatred of the conflicting factions raged in those cities. Bonizo, the expelled Bishop of Sutri (who had written with great vehemence in defence of Hildebrand) was received in Parma as

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[c] Bernold. Chron. A.D. 1089 (see Stenzel). Jaffé, in the Regesta, assembles the 115 bishops at Amalfi.

bishop by the Papal party; the Imperial faction seized him, threw him into prison, plucked out his eyes, and put him to a horrible death by mutilation.

Though in this model of female perfection the clergy, especially the monastic clergy, might, in ordinary times, have expected and admired the great crowning virtue of the sex, virginity, yet it was for the Pope, with his approbation if not in obedience to his commands, that she yielded to what at first at least seemed feminine weakness. She consented, at the age of forty-three, to marry a youth of eighteen. Even this sacrifice was to be made for the welfare of the Church.[d] Matilda wedded Guelf the younger, the son of the powerful Duke of Bavaria, from the family most equal to cope with the Imperial power. This alliance not merely might give manly strength to her counsels, and a warlike leader to her arms in Italy, but it secured her an alliance in Germany itself, dangerous and menacing to King Henry. The marriage was at first kept secret from the Emperor. No sooner was it announced than Henry found it necessary to march into Italy to crush this powerful confederacy. He laid siege to Mantua; after eleven months' resistance he became master of the town by treachery. For two years the war continued, so greatly to the advantage of the Emperor that the vassals of Matilda began to remonstrate against her obstinate hostility. She was compelled to open negotiations for peace at Carpineto, not far from Canossa. The recognition of

Marriage of Countess Matilda.

A.D. 1090.

Sept. 1092.

[d] A.D 1089. "Tam *pro incontinentiâ,* quam pro Romani pontificis obedientiâ, videlicet ut tanto virilius sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ contra schismaticos posset subvenire."—Berthold. Const. in Chronic. Thus the marriage appeared at first sight to the monastic writers: the close of this connexion perhaps showed the injustice of their fears.

the Anti-Pope was the stern and inexorable demand of Henry. The pious Matilda assembled the bishops, the abbots, and the holy hermits, many of whom had taken refuge in her strong fortress from the wild soldiery. She declared herself ready to make peace on just terms. The Bishop of Reggio and the other prelates advised submission, and the abandonment of Urban and his hopeless cause.[e] But a hermit named John sprang up, and declared, with all the fire of an inspired prophet, that peace with Henry on such terms would be sin against the Holy Ghost. The treaty was broken off; the war raged again, but Henry miscarried in an attack on the strong castle of Montorio; his besieging engines were burned; one of his natural sons slain in the trenches. He made an attempt to surprise Canossa; the scene of his humiliation he hoped to make the scene of his revenge. The troops of Matilda not only succeeded in relieving Canossa, but, covered by a thick fog, fell on the rear of Henry's army: the Imperial banner was trailed in the dust, taken, and hung up as a trophy by the victorious Matilda in the church of St. Apollonia at Canossa.

October.

But Urban and Matilda found more useful allies in the bosom of the king's own family. The terrible and revolting tragedy in his own household combined with the unfavourable circumstances in Germany and in Northern Italy to subdue the haughty spirit of Henry. In Germany the elder Guelf, the Duke of Bavaria, thwarted all his measures. Swabia refused allegiance to Frederick of Hohenstaufen, and chose for her prince Berthold, the brother of Gebhard Bishop of Constance,

[e] See authorities in Stenzel, p. 547.

one of Henry's implacable enemies. At a diet in Ulm the States, rejecting Arnold, the bishop named by the Emperor and the Anti-Pope, submitted to Gebhard of Constance as the legate of Pope Urban. They proclaimed a Truce of God until Easter, 1096, for the protection of the estates of the bishops, churches, and monasteries, and of the merchants. The cities eagerly embraced the boon; it was accepted through almost the whole of Southern Germany from the borders of Hungary to Alsace. These were difficult and embarrassing measures; but it was the revolt of his beloved son Conrad which crushed Henry to the earth.

Prince Conrad.

Conrad was a youth of great beauty, gentle disposition, with profound religious impressions, a weak and dreamy character. His sensitive piety surrendered him to the influence of the more austere clergy, who found means of access to his inmost heart. He was shocked with the horrors, with the sacrilegious evils of war, the desecration of churches, the ruin of monasteries. If such were his feelings, his acts were those of unmeasured and unscrupulous ambition. His piety was soon taught to spurn the vulgar virtues of love and obedience to his father. Henry, perhaps on a somewhat questionable title, had endeavoured to obtain for him the rich inheritance of his grandmother, Adelheid of Susa. With this view he had carried him to Italy, and left him there to prosecute his claim, but exposed to those fatal influences of the papal clergy. His father's enemies held out a nobler prize—the immediate possession of the kingdom of Italy. For neither did the devout Matilda nor the austere Pope decline this unnatural alliance, though it may be doubtful how far they secretly prompted and encouraged at

first this breach of the laws of nature.[f] But it is curious to observe how constantly that proverbial hostility of the heirs of kings to their fathers was sanctioned by those who were bound by their station to assert the loftiest Christian morality and the strictest adherence to the commandments of God. So completely was the churchman's interest to absorb all others, that crimes thus against nature, not only were excused by the ordinary passions of men, but by those of the highest pretensions to Christian holiness. What Pope ever, if it promised advantage, refused the alliance of a rebellious son?

A.D. 1093.

The cause which Conrad assigned, or which was assigned by Conrad's new friends, for his revolt, was too monstrous to obtain credit except with those whose minds were prepared to receive it by long and bitter hatred: it is altogether irreconcileable with the conduct of Henry. It was no plea of deep religious scruple at the disobedience of his father to the Church, or his sacrilegious destruction of holy things and holy places. It was an accusation against his father connected with that foul story of the Empress which ere long obtained such appalling publicity at the council of Piacenza. On Conrad's refusal to commit incest with his mother-in-law, it is even said with the sanction of Henry (the revolting history must be given in plain words), the Emperor had threatened to stigmatise and disinherit him as a bastard, on no other evidence than the want of likeness to himself, and so to insult the memory of his mother Bertha, which nevertheless Henry cherished with tender reverence to the close of his life. And

[f] The honest Muratori observes, "Un grande incanto ai figliuoli d'Adamo è la vista d' una corona."—Ann. d' Italia.

even at that time the father was striving by violence to put him in possession of the territory of Susa. The effect too, almost the fatal effect, of Conrad's conduct on the king his father, can only be ascribed to profound affection, deeply, cruelly, wantonly wounded. It is true that on the discovery of his treasonable intrigues Henry had placed his son under arrest; but Conrad found means to escape, and was received with open arms by the triumphant Matilda. His new allies kept their faith with the revolted son, under whose banner they might now contend with renewed hope, and whom it was their interest to commit irreparably with his father. Conrad was crowned King of Italy, first at Monza, afterwards at Milan in the Ambrosian Church. Anselm, the archbishop, hitherto on the Imperial side, embraced the stronger party: Milan, Cremona, Lodi, and Piacenza fell off at once from the cause of Henry, and signed a treaty of mutual defence for twenty years against the Empire.[g]

The revolt of Conrad seemed to crush the Emperor to the earth.[h] He had borne all the vicissitudes of his earlier life with unbroken courage; he had risen from his humiliation at Canossa with refreshed energy: he now abandoned himself to despair, threw off the robes and insignia of royalty, and was hardly prevented by his friends from falling on his own sword.

As the affairs of the Empire became more dark, the Pope emerged from his place of refuge in the convent fortress of Monte Casino, or in some one of the Norman cities under Norman protection.[i] The temporary success

[g] Anselm died Dec. 4, 1093.

[h] Even the monkish historian, as Stenzel observes, almost feels compassion, "nimio dolore afflictus."—Bernold.

[i] Urban is at different times at Bari, Brundusium, Capua, Benevento, Troja, Salerno, Anagni, and other less known places.—See Jaffé, Regesta.

of Henry had emboldened the Roman party of Guibert. He had returned to Rome. But Urban ventured to approach and to celebrate Christmas, 1093, in that city. He took up his abode in the palace of one of the Frangipanis. The Anti-Pope held the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and the Lateran; the rest of the city rendered its allegiance to Urban. Early in the following year (Guibert had then fled to Henry, and had even expressed his readiness, if peace could be restored on no other terms, to lay down his papal dignity), fifteen days before Easter, Ferruccio, who occupied the Lateran for the Anti-Pope Guibert, offered to surrender his charge for a large sum of money. But Urban, whose only resources had been the devotional offerings of the churches and convents in Southern Italy, and of those who came from more distant regions to acknowledge his supremacy or to bring their affairs before his tribunal, was too poor to pay the price. Fortunately Godfrey, the wealthy Abbot of Vendôme on the Loire, was at Rome; he had brought with him considerable treasures; besides these he sold his mules and horses, and laid the whole sum at the feet of the Pope. The Christmas of the same year (1094) Urban kept in Tuscany. On the 1st of March he advanced, and at the Council of Piacenza struck the last mortal blow at the fame and popularity of Henry, at the Anti-Pope, and the party of the married clergy. It was not, however, the expectation of this triumph of the Pope over the Empire, or even the exhibition of the Empress as the accuser of her husband, but rather the universal pre-occupation with the proposed appeal to Christendom on behalf of their eastern brethren, the proclamation of a Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land, which swelled the enormous

March 26, 1094.

Council of Piacenza. March 1-7, 1095.

multitudes assembled at the Council of Piacenza. Bishops and abbots crowded from Italy, France, Bavaria, Burgundy, and most parts of Germany. There were 3000 of the clergy, 30,000 of the laity; no church or public building could contain the vast host. They met in the great plain outside of the city: the ambassadors of the Emperor of the East were present to implore the aid of Christendom against the Unbelievers, who were before the gates of Constantinople.

March 7, 1095.

The Pope would have been more than man not to have seized this opportunity of obtaining the sanction of this vast Christian assembly to his condemnation of his enemies—of compelling them to witness the humiliation of the Emperor. Before this assembly appeared Adelaide, or Praxedes (as she is also named), the daughter of a King, the widow of a powerful Prince of Germany, the wife of the Emperor, to accuse her husband of enormities better, it might have seemed, concealed in the sanctuary of the confessional than proclaimed aloud in all their loathsome detail, to infect the ears of Christendom.[k] These charges had already been rehearsed in a Council at Constance, before the Bishop Gebhard, the implacable enemy of Henry. The Empress had been left in prison at Verona; a party of Matilda's soldiers surprised the guards, and rescued the captive Princess. It is almost incredible, that even in a coarse age, with that deadness to delicacy which belongs to mo-

Charges made by the Empress.

April, 1094.

[k] Donizo relates, to the praise of Matilda, her share in this transaction. He has misplaced the revolt of the son, which he relates after the flight of the empress. That revolt he compares to the just judgement of God on the Egyptians by the loss of their first born.

"Illius tractat patrem (*Matilda*) sic Hester ut Aman.
Abstulit uxorem sibi primitus, ut mous prolem."—Vit. Mathild. ii. xi.

nastic life, and to the now almost universal practice of confession, that the clergy should institute, an ecclesiastical assembly listen without repugnance to the public depositions, or at least to the attestation of depositions publicly read by a wife against her husband, so loathsome, so unnatural. The Empress accused her husband of abandoning her, or rather of compelling her to submit to promiscuous violation by his court and camp; of urging her to incest with his own son. After times are left to some one of these wretched alternatives—to believe in dissoluteness almost bestial, without any motive but absolute depravity, and with some of the circumstances which form an integral part of the story absolutely contradictory; or in an almost inconceivable depth of malignity in Henry's enemies—malignity too much, indeed, betrayed during the proceedings of the Council; or in the most wicked and shameless unprompted falsehood in the Empress, shameless enough, even if all were true; or (I fear it is but a subterfuge to find a merciful construction) some insanity on her part, which the simple believed, the crafty made use of for their own purposes.

But without waiting any reply or defence from the Emperor, the Pope and the Assembly admitted the whole charges as undeniable, unexaggerated truth. With an ostentatious leniency the Empress was excused from all penitential discipline, as having been the unassenting victim of the crimes with which she charged herself. She retired to spend the rest of her days in a monastery. The reception of these charges was almost the total ruin of the Imperial party in Lombardy, which was all but abandoned by Henry himself. Some of his most faithful partisans went over to his son and to the Countess Matilda.

The Council of Piacenza, in all its other decrees, obeyed the dictation of Pope Urban. Canons were passed against the Simoniacs and the married clergy. The Faithful were forbidden to be present at any sacred functions performed by the clergy who had not parted with their wives, branded by the name of concubines. The usual anathemas were uttered with lighted candles against the usurper Guibert, and all who abetted his usurpation. Orders conferred by him, or by Bishops excommunicated by the Pope, were declared null; the opinion of Berengar on the Sacrament was pronounced a heresy.[m]

April 10. Urban in France.

Urban, triumphant in Italy, went on to France, to consummate his more perfect victory over the mind of Christendom in the Council of Clermont. He was met at Cremona by Conrad, King of Italy, who paid him the most humble and obsequious homage.[n] The Pope promised to maintain him as King of Italy, but exacted his cession of the right of investiture. To complete the alienation of Conrad from his father, and to attach him more closely to the Papal party, a marriage was arranged between him and the youthful daughter of the Norman, Roger Count of Sicily. She brought him a rich dowry.

Imperial interests revive in Italy.

Pope Urban had hardly crossed the Alps, when an unexpected revolution in Italy awoke the Emperor again from his prostration and despair. Marriages contracted under the auspices and at the instigation of the Pope himself seemed not to secure conjugal happiness. No sooner had the party of Matilda gained this uncontested superiority, than a sudden sepa-

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[m] Bernoldi Chronicon. 1095.

[n] "Rex Conrhadus II. obviam procedens stratoris officio usus est."—Cod Mus. Brit. apud Pertz, viii. 474.

ration took place between the Countess and her youthful husband.[o] Guelf declared that he had never asserted a husband's privilege; he had respected either her age or her religious scruples. Matilda, whether from some lingering womanly vanity, or from humility which shrunk from that fame she would have acquired from her connubial continency, had kept the secret which her husband disclosed in his indiscreet anger. But there were other reasons for this mutual estrangement. So long as she needed his valour and military aid to protect her dominions, she had treated him with respect and affection; on her triumph she needed him no longer, and began to show coldness and indifference. The young and ambitious Bavarian might bear with patience the loss of some of his conjugal rights, but there were others, no doubt his chief temptations, which were refused, to his infinite disappointment. The vast possessions to which, by his marriage, he had supposed himself the undoubted successor, had already been made over by a solemn donation to the Church. The Duke of Bavaria, the father of the younger Guelf, made a hasty journey into Italy and endeavoured in vain to work up a reconciliation. In his indignation at his ill-success, he threw himself again into the party of the Emperor, and appealed to Henry to compel the Countess to alter the disposition of her dominions in favour of his son. Henry arose from his retreat in the territory of Padua; he summoned his faithful Veronese, and laid siege to Matilda's strong town Nogarà. Matilda rallied her forces to the rescue, and Henry had not strength to maintain the siege. The Guelfs retired to Germany;

[o] Donizo, the panegyrist of Matilda, maintains a prudent silence as to this marriage: he does not even name Guelf.

followed not long after by Henry himself. Matilda, strong in the alliance of Conrad, now connected by marriage with the Norman Roger, and the Papal party, with the King of Italy in the North, the Normans in the South, bade defiance to the enfeebled and disorganised Imperialists, and hoped finally to crush the obstinate Anti-Pope. Yet it was not till two years after that a party of Crusaders, on their way through Rome, reduced the whole city, except the Castle of St. Angelo, to obedience to the Pope. Guibert was at length dispossessed even of the Castle of St. Angelo.[p]

Pope Urban.

Pope Urban, in the mean time, had passed on to accomplish, in a more congenial land, his great purpose, the proclamation of the Crusade. He knew that Italy was not the land which would awaken to a burst of religious enthusiasm at the summons of a Pope; one, too, with a contested title. The maritime cities, Pisa, Genoa, Venice might be roused, as they had been by Victor III., to piratical expeditions against the Mohammedans of Africa, where their pious zeal might be rewarded by rich plunder. But the clergy were too much engrossed and distracted by their own factions, the laity too much divided between the Papal and Imperial interests, with the exception of the Normans were by no means so rudely enamoured of war as to embark, on an impulse of generous or pious feeling, in a dangerous and unpromising cause. At Piacenza the cold appeal met with a cold reception; the Council came to no determination; even the Pope, occupied with his own more immediate objects, the degradation of the Emperor, the subjugation of the Anti-Pope and the hostile clergy, displayed none of that fiery energy, that

[p] He held it in 1097.

kindling eloquence, which he reserved for a more auspicious occasion.

Urban entered France; he celebrated the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin at Puy, in Velay; he visited many other cities—Tarrascon,[q] Avignon,[r] Macon on the Saone;[s] retired to his beloved monastery of Clugny, to await the Council summoned for the 18th of November at Clermont, in Auvergne. There he remained occupied in confirming and enlarging the privileges conferred by his predecessor on this great centre of the monastic religious movement of the age, and in consecrating the high altar of the church. On his entrance into France he was met by a happy omen and manifestation of his increasing power—the acknowledgment of his title to the Papacy by England. This had been accomplished by Anselm the Norman, the learned Primate of the island.

Oct. 18, 1095.

Urban entered his native France, not deigning to consider that it was the realm of a king whom, if of more daring character, he might have tempted to hostility. But over Philip of France the sentence of excommunication was but suspended; and he cowered before the condemnation of the Pope.

Philip I., a sovereign of weak character, and not less weak in authority over his almost coequal nobles, having grown weary of his wife Bertha, the daughter of the Count of Holland, had endeavoured to divorce her on some frivolous plea of consanguinity not admitted by the clergy. His seduction of Beltrada, the wife of a powerful noble, was an offence against the feudal honour of his great vassals and the duty of a sovereign, as well as against the Church and the religion

Philip I. of France.

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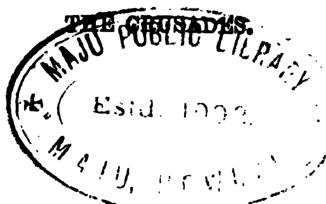
[q] Sept. 11. [r] Sept. 12. [s] Oct. 17.

of Christ. The clergy of France refused to solemnise the unlawful and adulterous marriage. A Norman or a French bishop[t] had been tempted by gratitude for actual favours, and by the hope of future advantage, to desecrate the holy ceremony. Hugh of Lyons, the rival of Urban for the Pontificate, had been restored to favour, and reinvested in the legatine authority in France. He summoned a National Council at Autun, which ventured to anticipate that sentence which could not but be approved and ratified by the Pope. Philip had implored delay, his ambassadors had appeared at Piacenza, and the Pope had consented for a time to suspend the sentence; an act not perhaps uninfluenced by his desire of humiliating Hugh of Lyons, who had eluded or disregarded the Pope's summons to the Council at Piacenza. But the case was too glaring to escape the censure; the monarch too impotent to demand further delay. In the preliminary business of the Council of Clermont, despatched with haste, hardly noticed, passed the excommunication of the greatest sovereign of Christendom, at least in rank, except the Emperor, the ruler of the country in which the Council sate.[u] So completely were men's minds absorbed by the expectation of that great event for which they had been so long in preparation, and concerning which they were now wrought to the utmost height of eagerness, the Crusade for the conquest of the Holy Land.

Excommunicated.

[t] Some authorities assert Odo, Bishop of Bayeux; others the Bishop of Senlis.

[u] Philip cowered under the ecclesiastical censure. He gave up his royal state. "Nunquam diadema portavit, nec purpuram induit, neque solennitatem aliquam regio more celebravit."—Orderic. Vit. lib. 8.



CHAPTER VI.

The Crusades.

THIS vast subject, the Crusades, with all its causes and consequences, demands its place in the History of Latin Christianity, but must submit to be limited to an extent perhaps not quite commensurate to its importance.

The sanctity of the Holy Land, the scene of the Saviour's life and death, untraceable in the first records of the religion, had grown up, as the faith became the mistress of the whole inward nature of man, of the imagination as well as the moral sentiment, into almost a part of the general, if undefined, creed. Pilgrimage may be considered as belonging to the universal religion of man. Some sacred spots, connected either with the history of the faith or with some peculiar manifestation of the Deity, have ever concentrated the worshippers within their precincts, or drawn them together at periodical intervals to revive their pious emotions, to partake in the divine influences still supposed to be emanating from the holy ground, or to approach nearer to the present and locally-indwelling godhead. From the lowest Fetichism up to Christianity itself this general and unconquerable propensity has either been sanctioned by the religion or sprung up out of it. Like the other more sublime and purely spiritual truths of the Gospel, the impartial ubiquity of God, the equable omnipresence of the Redeemer and the Holy Spirit throughout the

whole universe and in the soul of every true believer, became too vague and unsubstantial, at least for the popular faith. It might seem an inevitable consequence of the Incarnation of the Godhead in human nature, that man should lean, as it were, more strongly on this kindred and comprehensible Saviour than on the same Saviour when retired into his remoter divinity. Everything which approximated the human Saviour to the heart and understanding was cherished with deep reverence. Even in the coldest and most unimaginative times the traveller to the Holy Land seems to enjoy a privilege enviable to the Christian, who, considering its natural effects on the religious emotions, will not venture to disdain the blameless at least, if not beneficial, excitement. The objective reality which arises from the actual places where the Saviour was born, lived, rose from the grave, ascended into heaven, works back upon the inward or subjective faith in the heart of the believer. Where the presence, the being of the Redeemer, is more intensely felt, there it is thought to dwell with greater power.

The Holy Land was very early visited by Christian pilgrims. The supposed discovery of the sacred sepulchre, with all the miraculous legend of the Emperor's vision, the disinterment of the true cross, the magnificent church built over the sepulchre by the devout Helena and her son Constantine, were but the consequences and manifestations of a pre-existent and dominant enthusiasm. This high example immeasurably strengthened and fed the growing passion.

The Fathers on Pilgrimages.

It is remarkable, however, to find among those who yielded in other respects to the more materialising influences of the dominant Christianity some who attempted to maintain on this point a lofty

spirituality. Gregory of Nyssa, Augustine,[a] even Jerome, remonstrated against the dangerous and unnecessary journey to such remote lands; dangerous to the virtue especially of the female sex, unnecessary to him who might worship God with equal fervour in every region. Others of the Fathers during the fourth century strongly opposed the more sublime tenet of the divine omnipresence to the sanctity of peculiar places; the superiority of a quiet holy life in any part of the world, to the wandering over sea and land, east or west, to seek more intimate assurance of the divine presence.

Jerome, as is not unusual with him, is vehement on both sides of the question. While he himself was revelling, as it were, in all the luxury of this religious excitement, and, by his example, drawing multitudes, especially the noble females of Rome, who followed his steps and would not be divided from the object of their pious friendship, to the Holy Land; at the same time he dissuades his friend Paulinus from the voyage, declares that heaven is equally accessible from Britain as from Palestine,[b] and laments with a kind of selfish querulousness the crowds which from all quarters throng the sacred places. His example was more powerful than his precept.

During the following centuries pilgrimage became the ruling passion of the more devout. The lives of Saints teem with accounts of their pious journeys. Itineraries were drawn up by which pilgrims might direct

[a] Compare the celebrated letter of Gregory of Nyssa. "Dominus non dixit, vade in Orientem, et quære justitiam; naviga usque ad Occidentem, ut accipias indulgentiam."—Augustin. Sermo. de Martyr. Verb. "Noli longa itinera meditari: ubi credis, ubi (ibi) venis: ad eum enim qui ubique est, amando venitur non navigando."—Serm. i. de Verb. Apost. Petri.

[b] "De Hierosolymis et de Britanniâ æqualiter patet aula cœlestis."—Epist. ad Paul.

their way from the banks of the Rhine to Jerusalem. It was a work of pious munificence to build and endow hospitals along the roads for the reception of pilgrims. These pilgrims were taken under the protection of the law; they were exempt from toll, and commended by kings to the hospitality of their subjects. Charlemagne ordered that through his whole realm they were to be supplied at least with lodging, fire, and water.[c] In some religious houses the statutes provided for their entertainment. In Jerusalem there were public caravansaries for their reception. Gregory the Great sent money to Jerusalem to build a splendid hospital. The pilgrim set forth amid the blessings and prayers of his kindred or community, with the simple accoutrements which announced his design—the staff, the wallet, and the scallop-shell: he returned a privileged, in some sense a sanctified being.[d] Pilgrimage expiated all sin. The bathing in the Jordan was, as it were, a second baptism, and washed away all the evil of the former life. The shirt which he had worn when he entered the holy city was carefully laid by as his winding-sheet, and possessed, it was supposed, the power of transporting him to heaven. Palestine was believed to be a land not merely of holy reminiscences, and hallowed not only by the acts of the Saviour, but by the remains also of many saints. Places had already, by the pious invention and belief of the monks been set apart for every scene in the Gospels or in early Christian history—the stable in Bethlehem, the garden of Gethsemane, the height

[c] Capitul. A.D. 802. "Ut in omni regno nostro neque dives, neque pauper, peregrinis hospitia denegare audeat: id est sive peregrinis propter Deum ambulantibus per terram, sive cuilibet itineranti. Propter amorem Dei et propter salutem animæ suæ tectum et focum et aquam nemo illi deneget."

[d] Compare Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, i. p. 10.

where the Ascension took place; the whole land was a land of miracle, each spot had its wonders to confirm its authenticity. From an early period the descent of the fire from heaven to kindle the lights around the holy sepulchre had been played off before the wondering worshippers. The privilege of beholding Jerusalem and the sacred places was not the only advantage of the pilgrim. There was the great emporium of reliques; and the pilgrim returned bearing with him a splinter of the true cross, or some other memorial of the Saviour, of the Virgin Mother, the apostles, or some earlier saint. The prodigal demand did not in the least drain the inexhaustible supply. These reliques bore a high price in the West. At a later period commercial speculation in less sacred goods mingled with the devout aspirations after the Holy Land; and the silks, jewels, spices, paper, and other products of the East, were brought home from Palestine by the pious but not unworldly merchants of Venice, Pisa, Marseilles, and even of France and Germany.

Pilgrimages unchecked.

Down to the conquest of Jerusalem by Chosroes the Persian, the tide of pilgrimage flowed uninterrupted to the Holy Land. The victory of Heraclius and the recovery of the true Cross from the hands of the fire-worshippers re-established the peaceful communication; and throughout this whole period the pilgrims had only to encounter the ordinary accidents, privations, and perils of a long journey.

Nor did the capture of Jerusalem by the Mohammedans at first break off this connexion between Christendom and the birth and burial-place of the Redeemer. To the Mohammedans Jerusalem was no indifferent possession; it was sacred, if in a less degree than Mecca. It had been visited by their prophet; once, according to

their legend, in a mysterious and supernatural manner. The prophet had wavered between Jerusalem and Mecca as the Kebla of prayer for his disciples. The great religious ancestor of the Jews was also that of the Arabs; the holy men and prophets of Israel were held in honour by the new faith; the Korân admitted the supreme sanctity, though not the divinity, of Jesus. On the surrender of Jerusalem to the Caliph Omar, Christianity was allowed to perform all its rites though shorn of their pomp and publicity.[e] Their bells might no longer peal over the city; their processions were forbidden; they were to allow without resistance the conversion of Christians to Islamism; to keep themselves distinct by name, dress, and language; to pay tribute and to acknowledge the sovereign power of the Caliph. They were constrained to behold the mosque of Omar usurp the site of the ancient Temple of Jerusalem. Yet pilgrimage was not as the worship of images to those stern Iconoclasts. It was a part of religion so common with their own belief, that they were rather disposed to respect than to despise this mark of attachment in the Christians to their own prophet. The pious, therefore, soon began to flock again in undiminished numbers to Mohammedan as to Christian Jerusalem.

In the plan of his great Christian Empire Charlemagne threw the shadow of his protection over the Christians in the remotest parts of the world. Not merely did he assist the churches in Syria with large alms, he entered into treaties for their protection with the Mohammedan rulers. In his amicable intercourse with Haroun Al-Raschid, the courteous Caliph bestowed on him no gift more precious than the keys of the holy sepulchre. At

[e] They might not speak Arabic, the holy language. Compare vol. ii. p. 211.

the great millennial period, the close of the tenth and the commencement of the eleventh century, the strong religious movement, which arose from the expectation of the Lord's coming to judgement, wrought with no less intensity on the pilgrimages to the Holy Land than on the other religious services. Men crowded to Jerusalem, as to the scene of the Lord's revelation in glory, to be witnesses of the great assize in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They were eager not merely to visit, but, if their death anticipated the Last Day, to die in the Holy Land.

The wars which followed the fall of the Caliphate had towards this time made Syria less secure; more than once it had been the field of battle to contending parties; and in the year 1010 there was a fierce persecution of the Christians by Hakim, the fanatic Sultan of Egypt. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other Christian buildings in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, were razed to the ground. The persecution of the Christians in Palestine led to a furious persecution of the Jews in France. Rumours spread abroad that the Jews of Orleans had sent intelligence to Sultan Hakim of a meditated invasion of the Holy Land by the Christians; and this had stirred up his slumbering fanaticism. It was an awful omen to the Jews, probably had some effect in producing those more terrible calamities which awaited them at the commencement of the actual Crusades. Hakim, however, himself repented or grew weary of the persecution, or perhaps dreaded the vengeance of the maritime powers of Italy, now becoming formidable to all the coasts of the Mediterranean. The pilgrims were permitted to resume their interrupted devotions; they had no great peril to encounter and no degrading indignity to undergo, except

Increasing danger of pilgrimages.

the payment of a toll on the entrance to Jerusalem, established soon after this time by the Mohammedan rulers. This might sometimes be a grievous affliction to the poorer pilgrims, but it gave an opportunity for the more wealthy to display their pious munificence by defraying the cost of their admission.

Throughout the earlier half of the century men of all ranks, princes like Robert of Normandy, lordly bishops like those of Germany, headed pilgrimages. Humble monks and even peasants found their way to the Holy Land, and returned to awaken the spirit of religious adventure by the account of their difficulties and perils —the passionate enthusiasm by the wonders of the Holy Land.

Now, however, the splendid, polished, and more tolerant Mohammedanism of the earlier Caliphs had sunk before the savage yet no less warlike Turks. This race, of the Mongol stock, had embraced all that was enterprising, barbarous, and aggressive, rejecting all that was humane or tending to a higher civilisation in Mohammedanism. They were more fanatic Islamites than the followers of the Prophet, than the Prophet himself. The Seljukians became masters of Jerusalem, and from that time the Christians of Palestine, from tributary subjects became despised slaves; the pilgrims, from respected guests, intruders whose hateful presence polluted the atmosphere of pure Islamism. But neither the tyranny nor the outrages perpetrated by these new lords of Jerusalem arrested the unexhausted passion for pilgrimage, which became to some even a more praiseworthy and noble act of devotion from its perils.[f] The pilgrim might

[f] Lambert the historian performed a furtive pilgrimage. He was much alarmed lest his abbot (of Hertzfeld), without whose permission he set forth, should die without having forgiven him. He speaks of having incurred

become a martyr. Year after year came back the few survivors of a long train of pilgrims, no longer radiant with pious pride at the accomplishment of their holy purpose, rich in precious reliques, or even in the more costly treasures of the East; but stealing home, famished, wounded, mutilated, with lamentable tales of their own sufferings and of those who had died of the ill-usage of the barbarous unbelievers.

At length the afflictions of the Christians found a voice which woke indignant Europe—an apostle who could rouse warlike Latin Christendom to encounter with equal fanaticism this new outburst of the fanaticism of Islam. This was the mission of the hermit Peter.

Earlier schemes of Crusades.

Latin Christendom was already in some degree prepared for this great confederacy. A league of the whole Christian world against the Mohammedans had expanded before Gerbert, Silvester II. The Cæsar of the West, his master Otho III., was to add at least Palestine to the great Christian realm.[g] It was among the bold visions which had floated before the imagination of Gregory VII.[h] His strong sagacity, aided no doubt by good intelligence, had discerned the revolution in the spirit of Mohammedanism from the Turkish superiority. Hildebrand's more immediate object, however, was not the recovery of the Holy Land, but the defence of the Greek Empire, which was now threatened by the advance of the irresistible Seljukians into Asia Minor. The repression of Mohammedanism on all sides, in Italy, especially, where it had more than

extreme peril, and of having returned to his monastery, "quasi ex impiis redivivus." We should have been glad to have heard his own perils described by so powerful a writer.—Sub ann. 1059.

[g] Gerbert's letter in the name of Jerusalem. In Murat. R. I. S. iii. 400

[h] Compare Gregory's Regesta, i. 30, i. 49, ii. 31.

once menaced Rome itself, conspired with the one paramount object of Hildebrand, the subjugation of Christendom to the See of Rome, and the unity of the Church under the supremacy of the Pope, to whom all temporal powers were to own their subordination. The Greek Empire was to render its allegiance to the Pontiff as the price of its protection from the Turks; it was to become an integral and essential part of the spiritual Empire. Gregory had intimated his design of placing himself at the head of this Crusade, which was at once to consolidate and secure from foreign and infidel aggression the ecclesiastical monarchy of the West. But the deliverance of the decrepit, unrespected, and often hostile Empire of the East would have awakened no powerful movement in Latin Christendom: the fall of Constantinople would have startled too late the tardy fears and sympathies of the West. The ambassadors of Alexius Comnenus at Piacenza were received with decent respect, but with no passionate impulse. The letters from the East, imploring aid, had no power to hush and suspend the hostilities which distracted the West. If not heard with indifference, they left but superficial and evanescent impressions on the minds even of those who had most reason to dread the progress of the Mohammedan arms.

For the conquest of the Holy Land a zealous Pope might alone in favourable times have raised a great Christian army; he might have enlisted numbers of warlike and adventurous nobles, even sovereigns, in the cause. But humbler and more active instruments were wanting for a popular and general insurrection in favour of the oppressed and afflicted pilgrims, for the restoration of the Holy Land to the dominion of the Cross. All great convulsions of society are from below.

Peter the Hermit is supposed, but only supposed, to

have been of gentle birth. He was of ignoble stature, but with a quick and flashing eye; his spare, sharp person seemed instinct with the fire which worked within his restless soul. He was a Frank (of Amiens in Picardy), and therefore spoke most familiarly the language of that people, ever ready for adventurous warfare, especially warfare in the cause of religion. Peter had exhausted, without satisfying the cravings of his religious zeal, all the ordinary excitements, the studies, the austerities and mortifications, the fasts and prayers of a devout life. Still yearning for more powerful emotions, he had retired into the solitude of the strictest and severest cloister. There his undoubting faith beheld in the visions of his disturbed and enthralled imagination revelations from heaven. In those days such a man could not but undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, more especially in times when martyrdom might be his reward. The deeper his feelings at visiting the holy places, the more strong would be his sorrow and indignation at their desecration by their rude and cruel masters. Peter saw with a bleeding heart the sufferings and degradation of his brethren; his blood turned to fire; the martial Frank was not extinct within him. In an interview with Simeon, the persecuted patriarch, Peter ventured to rebuke his despondency. When Simeon deplored the hopeless weakness of the Byzantine Empire, the natural lords and protectors of the Christians in Syria, Peter fearlessly promised him the succour of Western Christendom. His vow seemed to obtain the ratification of God. Prostrate in the temple he heard, as it were, the voice of our Lord himself, "Rise, Peter, go forth to make known the tribulations of my people; the hour is come for the delivery of my servants, for the recovery of the Holy places!"

Peter the Hermit.

Peter fully believed in his own mission, and was therefore believed by others. He landed in Italy, he hastened to Rome. The Pope, Urban, was kindled by his fervour, acknowledged him as a Prophet, and gave full sanction to his announcement of the immediate deliverance of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1094.

The Hermit traversed Italy, crossed the Alps, with indefatigable restlessness went from province to province, from city to city. His appearance commanded attention, his austerity respect, his language instantaneous and vehement sympathy. He rode on a mule, with a crucifix in his hand, his head and feet bare; his dress was a long robe girt with a cord, and a hermit's cloak of the coarsest stuff. He preached in the pulpits, in the roads, in the market-places. His eloquence was that which stirs the heart of the people, for it came from his own, brief, figurative, full of bold apostrophes; it was mingled with his own tears, with his own groans; he beat his breast; the contagion spread throughout his audience. His preaching appealed to every passion, to valour and shame, to indignation and pity, to the pride of the warrior, the compassion of the man, the religion of the Christian, to the love of the Brethren, to the hatred of the Unbeliever, aggravated by his insulting tyranny, to reverence for the Redeemer and the Saints, to the desire of expiating sin, to the hope of eternal life. Sometimes he found persons who, like himself, had visited the Holy Land; he brought them forth before the people, and made them bear witness to what they had seen or what they had suffered. He appealed to them as having beheld Christian blood poured out wantonly as water, the foulest indignities perpetrated on the sacred places in Jerusalem. He invoked the Holy Angels, the Saints in Heaven, the Mother of God,

the Lord himself, to bear witness to his truth. He called on the holy places—on Sion, on Calvary, on the Holy Sepulchre, to lift up their voices and implore their deliverance from sacrilegious profanation: he held up the Crucifix, as if Christ himself were imploring their succour.

His influence was extraordinary, even beyond the immediate object of his mission. Old enemies came to be reconciled; the worldliest to forswear the world; prelates to entreat the hermit's intercession. Gifts showered upon him; he gave them all to the poor, or as dowries for loose women, whom he provided with husbands. His wonders were repeated from mouth to mouth; all ages, both sexes, crowded to touch his garments; the very hairs which dropped from his mule were caught and treasured as reliques.

Council of Clermont.

Western Christendom, particularly France, was thus prepared for the outburst of militant religion. Nothing was wanted but a plan, leaders, and organisation. Such was the state of things when Pope Urban presented himself to the Council of Clermont, in Auvergne.

Where all the motives which stir the mind and heart, the most impulsive passion, and the profoundest policy, conspire together, it is impossible to discover which has the dominant influence in guiding to a certain course of action. Urban, no doubt, with his strong religiousness of character, was not superior to the enthusiasm of his times; to him the Crusade was the cause of God. This is manifest from the earnest simplicity of his memorable speech in the Council. No one not fully possessed by the frenzy could have communicated it. At the same time, no event (to this his discerning mind could not be blind) could be more favourable, or more

opportune for the advancement of the great Papal object of ambition, the acknowledged supremacy over Latin Christendom; or for the elevation of Urban himself over the rival Pope and the temporal Sovereigns his enemies. Placing himself at the head of this vast popular movement, he left his rival at an immeasurable distance below him in general reverence. He rose to no less a height over the temporal Sovereigns. The author of the Crusades was too holy a person, too manifest a vicegerent of Christ himself, for men either to question his title or circumscribe his authority. Thus the excommunication of the King of France, like the earthquake during the victory of Hannibal at Thrasymene, passed almost without notice.

Speech of Urban II.

Never, perhaps, did a single speech of man work such extraordinary and lasting results as that of Urban II. at the Council of Clermont. Urban, as a native of France, spoke, no doubt, the language of the country;[i] his speech has survived only in the colder and more stately ecclesiastical Latin; and probably has preserved but few of those pathetic and harrowing details of the cruelty, the licentiousness, the sacrilege of the Turks, which told most effectively on his shuddering and maddening audience.[k] He dwelt on the sanctity, on the wonders of the land of promise; the land chosen of God, to whom all the earth belonged as his own inheritance; the land of which the history had been recorded both in the Old and New Testament; of this land the foul Infidels were now the lords—of the

"Certatim currunt Christi purgare sepulchrum
Francigenus cunctus populus, de quo fuit ortus
Urbanus Pastor."—Donizo.

[k] There are three copies of Urban's speech, unless they are, as is most probable, different speeches delivered on different occasions: one in William of Tyre, one in William of Malmesbury, one printed from a MS. in the Vatican in the Concilia.

Holy City itself, hallowed by the Life and Death of the Saviour. Whose soul melted not within? whose bowels were not stirred with shame and sorrow? The Holy Temple had become not only a den of thieves, but the dwelling-place of Devils. The churches, even that of the Holy Sepulchre itself, had become stalls for cattle, and Christian men were massacred and Christian women ravished within the holy precincts. The Heavenly fire had ceased to descend; the Lord would not visit his defiled sanctuary. While Christians were shedding Christian blood, they were sinfully abandoning this sacred field for their valour, and yielding up their brethren in Christ to the yoke, to the sword of the Unbeliever: they were warring on each other, when they ought to be soldiers of Christ. He assured them that the Saviour himself, the God of armies, would be their leader and their guide in battle. There was no passion which he left unstirred. "The wealth of your enemies shall be yours; ye shall plunder their treasures. Ye serve a commander who will not permit his soldiers to want bread, or a just reward for their services."[1] He offered absolution for all sins (there was no crime—murder, adultery, robbery, arson—which might not be redeemed by this act of obedience to God); absolution without penance to all who would take up arms in this sacred cause. It was better to fall in battle than not to march to the aid of the Brethren; he promised eternal life to all who should suffer the glorious calamity of death in the Holy Land, or even in the way to it. The Crusader passed at once into Paradise. For him-

[1] "Facultates etiam inimicorum nostrorum vestræ erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros exspoliabitis. . . . Tali Imperatori militare debetis cui panis deesse non potest, cui quæ rependat, nulla desint stipendia." This is from the Vatican speech. I have taken the liberty of compiling from all three.

self, he must remain aloof; but, like a second Moses, while they were slaughtering the Amalekites, he would be perpetually engaged in fervent and prevailing prayer for their success.[m]

Crusade determined.

The Pontiff could scarcely conclude his speech; he was interrupted by ill-suppressed murmurs of grief and indignation. At its close, one loud and simultaneous cry broke forth: "It is the will of God! it is the will of God!" All ranks, all classes, were seized with the contagious passion; the assembly declared itself the army of God. Not content with his immediate success, the Pope enjoined on all the Bishops to preach instantly, unremittingly, in every diocese, the imperative duty of taking up arms to redeem the Holy Sepulchre. The epidemic madness spread with a rapidity inconceivable, except from the knowledge how fully the mind and heart of man were prepared to imbibe the infection. France, including both its Frank and Norman population, took the lead; Germany, of colder temperament and distracted by its own civil contentions, the Imperialist faction from hatred of the Pope, moved more tardily and reluctantly;[n] in Italy it was chiefly the adventurous Normans who crowded to the war; in England the Normans were too much occupied in securing their vast possessions, the Anglo-Saxon population too much depressed, to send large numbers of soldiers. All Europe, however, including the Northern nations, except Spain, occupied with her own crusade in her own realm, sent their contingent, either to the wild multitudes who swarmed forth under Walter the Pennyless, or the more regular army under Godfrey of Boulogne. The Crusade was no national

[m] This likewise is from the Vatican speech.

war of Italy, France, or Germany against the Egyptian Empire of the Fatimites, or the Seljukian Sultan of Iconium: it was a war of Christendom against Mohammedanism. No government hired the soldiers, unless so far as the feudal chief summoned his vassals to accompany him; nor provided transports and the artillery and implements of war, or organised a commissariat, or nominated to the chief command. Each was a volunteer, and brought his own horse, arms, accoutrements, provisions. In the first disastrous expeditions, under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Pennyless, the leaders were designated by popular acclamation or by bold and confident self-election. The general deference and respect for his admirable character and qualifications invested Godfrey of Boulogne in the command of the first regular army. It was fortunate, perhaps, that none of the great Sovereigns of Europe joined the first Crusade; the Emperor and the King of France were under excommunication; Conrad, King of Italy, too necessary to the Pope to be spared from Italy; in William Rufus was wanting the great impulse, religious faith. The ill success of the later Crusades, undertaken by Emperors and Kings, their frequent want of ability for supreme command when alone, their jealousies when allied, show that a league of princes of the second rank, though not without their intrigues and separate interests, was better suited for this kind of expedition.

Results of Crusades.

The results of these wars, rather than the wars themselves, must find their place in the history of Christianity. Urban II. lived to hear hardly more than the disasters and miseries of his own work. His faith had the severe trial of receiving the sad intelligence of the total destruction of the myriads who marched into Hungary and perished on the way, by

what was unjustly considered the cruelty of the Hungarians and treachery of the Greeks; scarcely one of these ever reached the borders of the Holy Land. His depression may have been allayed by the successes of the army under Godfrey of Boulogne; he heard of the capture of Antioch, but died before the tidings of the fall of Jerusalem on the 15th of July, 1099, could reach Rome.

Causes of Crusades.

The Crusades—contemplated not with cold and indifferent philosophy, but with that lofty spiritualism of faith which cannot consent to limit the ubiquitous God, and Saviour, and Holy Spirit to any place, or to any peculiar mountain or city, and to which a war of religion is essentially, irreconcileably oppugnant to the spirit of Christianity—may seem the height of human folly. The Crusades, if we could calculate the incalculable waste of human life from first to last (a waste without achieving any enduring result), and all the human misery which is implied in that loss of life, may seem the most wonderful frenzy which ever possessed mankind. But from a less ideal point of view —a view of human affairs as they have actually evolved under the laws or guidance of Divine Providence— considerations suggest themselves which mitigate or altogether avert this contemptuous or condemnatory sentence. If Christianity, which was to mould and fuse the barbarous nations into one great European society —if Latin Christianity and the political system of the West were to be one in limits and extent, it was compelled to assume this less spiritual, more materialistic form. Reverence for holy places—that intense passion which first showed itself in pilgrimages, afterwards in the Crusade—was an inseparable part of what has been called mediæval Christianity. Nor was this age less inevitably an age of war—an age in which human life,

even if it had not been thrown away on so vast a scale on one object, would hardly have escaped other (probably hardly less extensive) destruction. It would be bold to say how much the Crusades, at such a time, enhanced the mass of human suffering. Those who strewed the plains of Hungary or of Asia Minor with their bones—who for above a century watered the soil of Palestine with their blood—would probably have fallen in great numbers in nearer and more intestine wars; wars waged for a less generous and unselfish end. The Crusades consummated, and the Christian Church solemnly blessed and ratified, the unnatural it might be, but perhaps necessary and inevitable, union between Christianity and the Teutonic military spirit. Yet what but Christian warlike fanaticism could cope with the warlike Mohammedan fanaticism which had now revived by the invasion of the Turks, a race more rude and predatory and conquering than the Arabs of the Prophet, and apparently more incapable of yielding to those genial influences of civilisation which had gradually softened down the Caliphs of Damascus, Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, to splendid and peaceful monarchs? Few minds were, perhaps, far-seeing enough to contemplate the Crusades, as they have been viewed by modern history, as a blow struck at the heart of the Mohammedan power; as a politic diversion of the tide of war from the frontiers of the European kingdoms to Asia. Yet neither can this removal of the war to a more remote battle-field, nor the establishment of the principle, that all Christian powers were natural allies against Mohammedan powers (though this principle, at a later period, gave way before European animosities and enmities), have been without important influence on the course of human affairs.

To this union of the military spirit of Europe and of Christianity each brought its dowry—the military spirit its unmitigated ferocity, its wild love of adventure, its licentiousness, its contempt for human life, at times its generosity, and here and there touches of that chivalrous respect for females which had belonged to the Teutonic races, and was now mingled up with the religion. Christianity was content to bring its devotional without any of its humanising influences, its fervent faith, which was assured of its everlasting reward, its strict obedience to all the outward ceremonial of religion, its earnest prayers, its profound humility. But it left out all restraining discipline of the violent and revengeful passions; it checked not the fury of conquest; allayed in no way the miseries of the strife. The knight, before the battle, was as devout as the bishop; the bishop, in the battle, no less ferocious than the knight. No one denied himself the full privilege of massacre or of plunder; it was rather a duty against unbelievers: the females of a conquered town had no better fate with a crusading than with a Mohammedan soldiery.

Alliance of religious and military spirit.

The Crusades have been called, and justly, the heroic age of Christianity—the heroic age in the ordinary, not the Christian sense, that of the Gospel—which would seek her own heroes rather among the martyrs and among the benefactors of mankind. It had all the violence, the rudeness, but also the grandeur, the valour, daring, endurance, self-sacrifice, wonderful achievements, the development of strength, even of craft, which belongs to such a period: the wisdom of Godfrey of Boulogne, the gallantry of Tancred of Hauteville, the subtlety of Raimond of Toulouse; in later times the rivalry of the more bar-

Heroic age of Christianity.

barous Richard of England with the more courteous and polished Saladin. But in no point are the Crusades more analogous to the heroic ages of other times than in the elevation of the heroes of the war above the common herd of the soldiery.[n] In all wars the glory of the few is bought by the misery of the many. The superior armour and weapons, the fighting on horseback, as well as the greater skill in managing the weapons and the horse, no doubt the calmer courage, maintained the nobles as a martial and feudal aristocracy, who obtained all the glory and the advantages of their transient successes. Never, perhaps, were expeditions so utterly, hopelessly disastrous, so wildly prodigal of human life, as the *popular* Crusade, which set off first under Peter the Hermit. Of all this the blind enthusiasm of that day took as little notice as in later times did Godfrey's Frank knights in their poetic admiration of his exploits. In the fame of Godfrey's conquest of Jerusalem, in the establishment of that kingdom, no one under the rank of knight acquired honour, power, emolument. But since, in the account of the Crusades, even more than in other parts of the Christian annals, the life, the

[n] The crusades ought to have been the heroic age of Christianity in poetry; but their Homer arose too late. At the time of the Crusades there was wanting a common language, or indeed any language already formed and approaching to the life and energy of the Homeric Greek; at the same time sufficiently vernacular and popular not to become antiquated in the course of time. Before the polite and gentle Tasso, even the Italian had lost the rudeness and picturesque simplicity of its Dantesque form: the religious enthusiasm had been subdued to a timorous orthodoxy, which trembled before the Inquisition; the martial spirit was that of the earlier romantic poems rather than the Crusader's fanatic love of battle and hatred of the Unbeliever. With all its exquisite and pathetic passages, the 'Jerusalem Delivered' is no Crusader's epic. Beautiful as a work of art, it is still a work of art. It is suited to the court of Ferrara rather than to the castle-hall of a chieftain returned after years of war from the Holy Land.

reality, the character, even the terror and beauty, the poetry of the whole period, consists in the details, it is only in the acts and words of individuals that clearly transpire the workings of the religion of the times. The History of Christianity must leave those annals, as a separate province, and content itself with following out some of the more general results of those extraordinary and characteristic events. I will only relate two incidents: one illustrative of the frightfulness of this Holy War; one of the profound religion which, nevertheless, lay in the hearts of its leaders.

Incidents of the Crusades.

No barbarian, no infidel, no Saracen, ever perpetrated such wanton and cold-blooded atrocities of cruelty as the wearers of the Cross of Christ (who, it is said, had fallen on their knees and burst into a pious hymn at the first view of the Holy City), on the capture of that city. Murder was mercy, rape tenderness, simple plunder the mere assertion of the conqueror's right. Children were seized by their legs, some of them plucked from their mothers' breasts and dashed against the walls, or whirled from the battlements. Others were obliged to leap from the walls; some tortured, roasted by slow fires. They ripped up prisoners to see if they had swallowed gold. Of 70,000 Saracens there were not left enough to bury the dead; poor Christians were hired to perform the office. Every one surprised in the Temple was slaughtered, till the reek from the dead bodies drove away the slayers. The Jews were burned alive in their synagogue. Even the day after, all who had taken refuge on the roofs, notwithstanding Tancred's resistance, were hewn to pieces. Still later the few Saracens who had escaped (not excepting babes of a year old) were put to death to avenge the insults to the dead, and lest they should swell the

numbers of the advancing Egyptian army. The ghost of Bishop Adhemar de Puy, the Legate (he had died of the plague at Antioch) was seen in his sacerdotal habits partaking in the triumph, and it appears, not arresting the carnage.[o]

Yet when Godfrey was unanimously saluted as sovereign of the conquered realm, to the universal admiration, he refused to be king: he would only be administrator, where the Saviour had been called a servant; he would wear no golden crown where the Redeemer had worn a crown of thorns.[p]

Return we to the effects of the expeditions to the Holy Land.

Estrangement of the East.

I. The first and more immediate result of the Crusades was directly the opposite to that which had been promised, and no doubt expected, by the advisers of these expeditions. Though not the primary, the security of the Eastern Christian Empire, and its consequent closer alliance with Latin Christendom, was at least a secondary object. Latin and Greek Christendom would become, if not one Empire, one indissoluble league; the Greek Church would become part of the kingdom of St. Peter. But instead of the reconciliation of the Byzantine Empire with the West, the Crusade led to a more total estrangement; instead of blending the Churches into one, the hostility became more strong and obstinate. The Emperors of

[o] "Mulieres mucrone perfoderunt, infantes adhuc sugentes per plantam pedis e sinu matris aut cunabulis arreptos muris vel ostiorum liminibus allidentes fractis cervicibus, alios armis trucidarunt."—Albert. Aquens. p. 281. 'Alii illorum quos levius erat capitibus obtruncabantur; alii autem sagittati de turribus saltare cogebantur, alii vero diutissime torti et ignibus adusti."—Hist. B. Sacri, p. 179. Compare the later historians of the Crusades, Wilken, Michaud, i. 411; Von Raumer (Hohenstaufen), i. 216.

[p] All the later authorities.

the East found their friends not less dangerous and destructive than their enemies could have been. Vast hordes of disorderly and undisciplined fanatics came swarming across the frontiers, trampling down everything in their way, and spreading desolation through the more peaceful and flourishing provinces. Already the Hungarians had taken up arms against these unwelcome strangers; and a Christian power had been the first to encounter the champions of the Cross. The leaders of the Crusade, the Hermit himself, and a soldier of fortune, Walter, who went by the name of the Pennyless, were altogether without authority, and had taken no steps to organise or to provide food for this immense population which they had set in motion. This army mainly consisted of the poorer classes, whose arms, such as they were, were their only possession. The more enthusiastic, no doubt, vaguely trusted to the protection of Providence; God would not allow the soldiers of His blessed Son to perish with want. The more thoughtful calculated on the hospitality of their Christian brethren. The pilgrims of old had found hospitals and caravanseries established for their reception; they had been fed by the inexhaustible bounty of the devout. But it had occurred to none that, however friendly, the inhabitants of Hungary and the Provinces of the Byzantine Empire, through which they passed, could not, without miracles, feed the swelling, and it seemed, never-ending swarm of strangers. Hunger led to plunder, plunder to hostility, hostility hardened and inflamed to the most bitter mutual antipathy. Europe rung with denunciations of the inhospitality, the barbarity of these more than unbelievers, who were accused of secret intelligence and confederacy with the Mohammedans against the cause of Christ. The subtle policy

of Alexius Comnenus, whose craft was in some degree successful in the endeavour to rid his subjects of this intolerable burthen, was branded as the most malignant treachery. Hence mistrust, hatred, contempt, sprang up between the Greek and Latin Christians, which centuries could hardly have eradicated, even if they had been centuries of friendly intercourse rather than of aggravated wrong and unmingling hostility. The Greeks despised the Franks as rude and savage robbers; the Franks disdained the Greeks as wily and supple slaves.

The conduct of the more regular army, which took another and less destructive course, was restrained by some discipline, and maintained at first some courtesy, yet widened rather than closed this irreparable breach. The Emperor of the East found that his Western allies conquered not for him, but for themselves. Instead of considering Syria and Palestine as parts of the Eastern Empire, they created their own independent principalities, and owned no sovereignty in him who claimed to be the legitimate lord of those territories. There was a singular sort of feudal title made out to Palestine: God was the Sovereign owner; through the Virgin, of royal descent from the house of David, it descended to our Lord. At a later period the contempt of the Franks reached its height in their conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of a Latin dynasty on the throne of the Eastern Emperors; contempt which was amply repaid by the hatred of the Greeks, who, when they recovered the Empire, were only driven by hard necessity to cultivate any friendly alliance with the West.

This implacable temporal hostility did not tend to soften or reconcile the religious difference. The supremacy of the Pope became a sign, a bitter remembrancer of their subjugation. Even at the last hour, after the

Council of Florence, the Eastern Church refused to surrender its freedom or to accept the creed of the West.

Power of the Pope.

II. The Pope, the clergy, the monastic institutions, derived a vast accession of power, influence, and wealth from the Crusades. Already Urban, by placing himself at the head of the great movement, had enshrined himself in the general reverence, and to the Pope reverence was power and riches.[q] He had crushed his adversaries in the popular mind of great part of Christendom. He bequeathed this great legacy of pre-eminence to his successors. The Pope was general-in-chief of the armies of the faith. He assumed from the commencement, and maintained to the end of the Crusades, an enormous dispensing authority, to which no one ventured or was disposed to raise any objection; not a dispensing authority only from the penalties of sin in this world or the next, a mitigation of the pains of purgatory, or a remittal of those acts of penance which the Church commuted at her will: the taking the cross absolved, by his authority, from all temporal, civil, and social obligation. It substituted a new and permanent principle of obedience for feudal subordination. The Pope became the liege lord of mankind. His power commanded, though unhappily it could not enforce, a truce from all other wars throughout Christendom. The theory was the universal amicable alliance of all Christians against the common foe, the unbeliever: war therefore of Christian against Christian became treason against the sacred cause. The prince who took the cross left his dominions under

[q] Compare Heeren's Essay on the influence of the Crusades, Werke, vol. ii., and Choiseul d'Aillecourt, who obtained the second prize from the French Academy. To these writers I would refer for the general effects on commerce, arts, and literature.

the protection of the Holy See; but as the more ambitious, rapacious, and irreligious of the neighbouring sovereigns were those who remained behind, this security was extremely precarious. But the noble became really exempt from most feudal claims; he could not be summoned to the banner of his Lord: even the bonds of the villain, the serf, and the slave were broken or enfeebled; they were free, if they could extricate themselves from a power which, in the eye of the Church, as interfering with the discharge of a higher duty, was lawless, to follow the cross.[r] Even the creditor could not arrest the debtor. The Crusader was the soldier of the Church, and this was his first allegiance which released him from all other. The Pope was thus invested in a kind of supremacy altogether new and unprecedented.

But though the acknowledged head and leader in this universal league, no Pope was so rash or so adventurous as to commit himself to the actual perils of an expedition to the Holy Land. Some pontiffs professed their intention, some made preparations, to place themselves at the head of a crusading army. But from prudence or timidity, from circumstances or from design, Christendom was spared what might have been almost the fatal humiliation of defeat and disaster, the seeming abandonment by God of his vicar upon earth, the desecration, it might be, of his person by the hands

No Pope a Crusader.

[r] Men were allowed to commute base or even capital punishments for perpetual exile to the Holy Land. James de Vitry complains bitterly of the degradation of the honour of the Crusades, and other evil consequences of this doctrine. "Viri sanguinum et filii mortis in patriâ suâ deprehensi in iniquitatibus et maleficiis suis, mutilationibus membrorum vel suspendio adjudicati, prece vel pretio plerumque obtinebant, ut in terram promissionis sine spe revertendi, perpetuo condemnati exilio, remanerent. Hi autem non pœnitentiâ compuniti," &c.—Hist. Orient. i. 82.

of barbarous unbelievers, his captivity in a foreign land —fiery trials which might end in glorious martyrdom, but if not in martyrdom, might it not be in weakness? dare it be supposed in apostacy? No devout mind could contemplate the possibility, under the most awful ordeal ever encountered by flesh and blood, of a renegade Pope; still it might be well that even the remotest peril of such an appalling event should be avoided. He was spared, too, from being an eye-witness of the indescribable calamities, the bootless carnage, the sufferings from plague and famine, as well as from the enemy, by which the Crusades were distinguished from almost all other wars; and the more unseemly spectacle of the crimes, the cruelties, the unbridled licentiousness, the strife, and jealousies, and treacheries, which prevailed too often in the Christian camp, and would hardly have been overawed by his presence. The Pope, however, though not personally mingled up in this humiliating it might be, no doubt almost inevitably disenchanting and too frequently debasing intercourse with the wild soldiery, was present by his Legate. Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, was the representative of the Pope in the first Crusade; and so, although the temporal princes assumed the right of election to the kingdom of Jerusalem, yet he was there to assert the right of ecclesiastical interference in the direction of a war waged for religious ends and under religious sanction.

But the hold on the human mind, which directly or indirectly accrued to the Pope in Europe from this right of levying war throughout Christendom against the unbeliever, of summoning, or at least enlisting, all mankind under the banner of the cross, could not but increase in its growth as long as the crusading frenzy maintained its power. The holy war was a means opened by God

of atonement for sins, besides sacerdotal sanctity or devotion to the monastic life; a lower and easier kind of atonement for the vulgar, incapable of that higher religiousness. Who was beyond or above this motive?[s] Thus that which was at first a passion became a duty, and once recognised as a duty, it was a test by which the Pope could try the faith or the fidelity of his more contumacious spiritual subjects. To take the cross was the high price which might obtain absolution for the most enormous offence; and therefore, if the Pope so willed, he would be satisfied with nothing less. There were few sovereigns so cautious, or so superior to the dominant superstition, as not, in some period of enthusiasm or disaster, of ambition or affliction, either from the worldly desire of propitiating the favour of the Pope, or under the pangs of wounded conscience, to entangle themselves with this irrevocable vow; that vow at least which could only be annulled by the Pope, who was in general little disposed to relax his hold on his self-fettered subject. The inexorable taskmaster, to whom the king or prince had sold himself in the hour of need, either demanded the immediate service, or held the mandate in terror over his head to keep him under subjection. It will appear hereafter how the most dangerous antagonist of the papal power, the Emperor Frederick II., was trammelled in this inextricable bondage, from which he could not release himself even by fulfilling its conditions.

[s] "Deus nostro tempore prælia sancta instituit, ut ordo equestris et vulgus oberrans, qui vetustæ Paganitatis exemplo in mutuas versabatur cædes, *novum reperirent salutis promerendæ genus:* ut nec funditus electâ, ut fieri assolet monasticâ conversatione, seu religiosâ quâlibet professione sæculum relinquere cogerentur; sed sub consuetâ licentiâ et habitu ex suo ipsorum officio Dei aliquatenus gratiam consequerentur."—Guido Abbas, p. 1076.

Legatine authority of the Pope.

The legatine authority of the Pope expanded to a great extent in consequence of the Crusades.[t] Before this period an ecclesiastic, usually of high rank or fame, had been occasionally commissioned by the Pope to preside in local councils, to determine controversies, to investigate causes, to negotiate with sovereigns. As acting in the Pope's person, he assumed or exercised the right of superseding all ordinary jurisdiction, that of the bishops and even of the metropolitans. The Crusades gave an opportunity of sending legates into every country in Latin Christendom, in order to preach and to recruit for the Crusades, to urge the laity who did not take up the cross in person to contribute to the expenses of the war, to authorise or to exact the subsidies of the clergy. The public mind became more and more habituated to the presence, as it were, of the Pope by his representative, to the superseding of all authority in his name. The hierarchy, in such a cause, could not venture to resist the encroachment on their jurisdiction; the exactions from the clergy, though still disguised under the semblance of a voluntary contribution, furnished a dangerous precedent for demands on the revenues of other churches for the use of Rome. Not only the secular clergy but the monasteries were bound to assign part of their revenues for the conquest of the Holy Land; with them, too, the free-will offering became a tax, and the principle was thus established of taxation for foreign purposes and by a superior authority.[u] The Pope became, to a certain

[t] Compare Heeren, p. 147; Planck, ii. p. 631.

[u] The bishops in partibus Infidelium had their origin in the Crusades; as the Crusaders conquered, they founded or re-established sees. When their conquests fell back to the Mohammedans, the bishops were obliged

degree, the absolute supreme lord, as far as the right of assessing burthens, at first for a specific object, at length for his own objects (whatever might appear so to his wisdom must be a worthy object), on the whole ecclesiastical property of Latin Christendom.

Wealth of the clergy.

But to the clergy and to the monastic institutions the vast increase in their wealth and territorial possessions more than compensated for this, at first, light taxation. There may have been few, but doubtless there were some of all ranks up to princedoms, who in their reckless enthusiasm stripped themselves of all their goods, abandoned their lands and possessions, and reserved nothing but their sword, their horse, and a trifling sum for their maintenance, determined to seek either new possessions or a glorious and saintly grave in the Holy Land. If they had no heirs, it was a trifling sacrifice; if they had, it was a more praiseworthy and truly religious sacrifice to make over their estates to the Church; this consummated the merit of him who had sunk every duty and every tie in the character of champion of the cross. But all were suddenly called upon for a large expenditure, to meet which they had made no provision. The private adventurer had to purchase his arms, his Milan or Damascus steel, his means of transport and provision; the nobles and the princes, in proportion to their rank and territory, to raise, arm, and maintain their vassals. Multitudes were thus compelled to pledge or to alienate their property. The Jews were always at hand to receive in pawn or to purchase their personal possessions. But the Jews in most parts of Europe had no concern in the

to fly: many took refuge in Rome. These being already invested in episcopal power, they were often employed as vicars-general in different countries, a new office of great importance to the Papal power.

cultivation of the soil, in some could not be landed proprietors. Here and there prudent nobles, or even kings, might watch this favourable opening, when estates were thrown so prodigally and abundantly on the market. So William Rufus bought his elder brother's dukedom of Normandy.

But there was one wealthy body alone which was not deeply embarked in these costly undertakings—the Church. The bishops who took up the cross might possibly burthen, they could not alienate, their estates. On the other hand, the clergy and the monasteries were everywhere on the spot to avail themselves of the embarrassments and difficulties of their neighbours. It was their bounden duty to increase to the utmost that which was called the property of God; rapacity had long been a virtue, it was thought to have lost all its selfishness when exercised in behalf of the Church. Godfrey of Boulogne alienated part of his estates to the Bishop of Verdun; he pledged another part to the Bishop of Liège. For at least two centuries this traffic went silently on, the Church always receiving, rarely alienating; and this added to the ordinary offerings of devotion, the bequests of deathbed remorse, the exactions for hard-wrung absolution, the prodigal bribes of superstitious terror, the alms of pure and self-denying charity.[x] Whoever during the whole period of the Crusades sought to whom he might entrust his lands as guardian, or in perpetuity if he should find his grave or richer possessions in the Holy Land, turned to the Church, by whose prayers he might win success, by whose masses the sin which clung to the soul even of

[x] On sale or alienation of lands, see Robertson, Introduction to Charles V.; Choiseul d'Aillecourt, note 80.

the soldier of the cross might be purged away. If he returned, he returned often a disappointed and melancholy man, took refuge from his despondent religious feelings in the cloister, and made over his remaining rights to his brethren. If he returned no more, the Church was in possession. The churchman who went to the Holy Land did not hold in himself the perpetual succession to the lands of his see or of his monastery; it was in the Church or in the fraternity.[y] Thus in every way the all-absorbing Church was still gathering in wealth, encircling new lands within her hallowed pale, the one steady merchant who in this vast traffic and sale of personal and of landed property never made a losing venture, but went on accumulating and still accumulating, and for the most part withdrawing the largest portion of the land in every kingdom into a separate estate, which claimed exemption from all burthens of the realm, until the realm was compelled into measures, violent often and iniquitous in their mode, but still inevitable. The Church which had thus peaceably despoiled the world was in her turn unscrupulously despoiled.

Holiness of religious wars.

III. The Crusades established in the Christian mind the justice and the piety of religious wars. The history of Christianity for five centuries is a perpetual Crusade; in this spirit and on these principles every war against unbelievers, either in the general doctrines of Christianity or in the dominant

[y] Heeren, Werke, p. 149. "Rappelons-nous l'encan général des fiefs et de tous les biens des Croisés. Au milieu de tant de vendeurs empressés, il se présentait peu d'acquéreurs, autre que les Eglises et les Communautés religieuses, qui n'abandonnaient pas leur patrie, et qui pouvoient placer des sommes considérables." They gained the direct domain of many fiefs, by failure of heirs to those who perished in the Holy Land.—Choiseul d'Aillecourt, p. 90.

forms, was declared, waged, maintained. The cross was almost invariably the banner, the outward symbol; the object was the protection or the enlargement of the boundaries of the Church. The first Crusades might be in some degree vindicated as defensive. In the long and implacable contest the Mohammedan had no doubt been the aggressor; Islam first declared general and irreconcileable war against all hostile forms of belief; the propagation of faith in the Korân was the avowed aim of its conquests. The extent and rapidity of those conquests enforced toleration; conversion could not keep pace with subjugation; but the unconverted, the Jewish, or the Christian sank to an inferior, degraded, and tributary population. Nor was the spirit of conquest and invasion either satiated by success or broken by discomfiture. Neither the secure possession of their vast Asiatic dominions of Egypt, Africa, and Spain, nor their great defeat by Charles Martel, quelled their aggressive ambition. They were constantly renewing hostilities in every accessible part of the East and West, threatening or still further driving in the frontier of the Byzantine Empire, covering the Mediterranean with their fleets, subduing Sicily, and making dangerous inroads and settlements in Italy. New nations or tribes from the remoter East, with all the warlike propensities of the Arabs, but with the fresh and impetuous valour of young proselytes to the Korân, were constantly pouring forth from the steppes of Tartary, the mountain glens of the Caucasus or the Himalaya, and infusing new life into Mohammedanism. The Turks had fully embraced its doctrines of war to all of hostile faith in their fiercest intolerance; they might seem imperiously to demand a general confederacy of Christendom against their declared enemy. Even the oppressions of their

Christian brethren, oppressions avowedly made more cruel on account of their religion, within the dominions of the Mohammedans, might perhaps justify an armed interference. The indignities and persecutions to which the pilgrims, who had been respected up to this period, were exposed, the wanton and insulting desecration of the holy places, were a kind of declaration of war against everything Christian.

But it is more easy in theory than in fact to draw the line between wars for the defence and for the propagation of the faith. Religious war is too impetuous and eager not to become a fanaticism. From this period it was an inveterate, almost uncontested tenet, that wars for religion were not merely justifiable, but holy and Christian, and if holy and Christian, glorious above all other wars. The unbeliever was the natural enemy of Christ and of his Church; if not to be converted, to be punished for the crime of unbelief, to be massacred, exterminated by the righteous sword.

Charlemagne indeed had already carried simultaneously conquest and conversion into the forests of Germany; but the wars against the Saxons still pretended to be defensive, to be the repulse of invasions on their part of the territories of the Empire, and the wanton destruction of churches within the Christian frontier. Baptism was among the terms of capitulation offered to conquered tribes, and accepted as the only secure guarantee for their future observance of peace.

Crusades aggressive. The Jews.

But the actual crusades against Mohammedanism had not begun before they were diverted from their declared object—before they threw off all pretence to be considered defensive wars. The people had no sooner arms in their hands than they turned them against the first enemies, according to the

new code of Christ and of the Church, the unfortunate Jew. The frightful massacre of this race in all the flourishing cities in Germany and along the Rhine by the soldiers of the Cross seemed no less justifiable and meritorious than the subjugation of the more remote enemies of the Gospel. Why this fine discrimination between one class of unbelievers and another? Shall zeal presume to draw distinctions between the wicked foes of the Church? Even in the later Crusades it was an act of heroic Christian courage: no one but a St. Bernard would have dared, or dared with success, to distinguish with nice justice between the active and passive adversaries of the faith, the armed Saracen and the defenceless Jew. Long-suppressed hatred, jealousy of their wealth, revenge for their extortions, which probably, when almost every one was at their mercy, were intolerable enough (the Jew perhaps might, on his side, consider the invasion of the Holy Land an usurpation of his inalienable territory by the Christian, and might impose harder terms for his assistance in the purchase of arms and other provisions for that end); many old and many recent feelings of antipathy might still further designate the Jew as the enemy of the Christian cause; but it was as the Unbeliever, not the wealthy extortioner, that he was smitten with the sword. The Crusaders would not go in search of foreign foes of the Gospel, and leave in their homes men equally hateful, equally obstinate, equally designated for perdition in this world and in the next.

That which was lawful, just, and meritorious against the Jew and Mohammedan was so against the idolater. Out of Orders of Christian Knights for the defence of the Christian conquests in Palestine arose Orders of armed apostles, for the conversion of the Heathen in

the North of Germany. The Teutonic Knights were the brethren in arms of the Templars and Hospitallers of the Holy Land.

The heretic was no less odious, and therefore no less dangerous an enemy to the faith: he was a renegade to the true creed of the Gospel, a revolted subject of the Church. Popular opinion, as well as the decrees of the Pope, hallowed the exterminating wars against the Albigenses and other schismatics of the South of France, as undertaken for the cause of God. They were openly designated as Crusades. Simon de Montfort was as much the champion of the true faith as Godfrey of Boulogne. The Inquisition itself was a Crusade in a more peaceful and judicial form; it rested on the same principles, and executed against individuals that punishment which the Crusades accomplished by the open and indiscriminate carnage of war. Crusades were even preached and proclaimed against persons not charged with heresy. The Popes scrupled not to unfold the banner of the Cross against any of their disobedient sons. The expedition against John of England by Philip of France, to reduce the refractory King to his obedience under his Papal liege-lord, was called a Crusade. Philip of France was summoned to take arms as a true vassal of the Church against a rival Sovereign. At length every enemy of the political power of the Pope in Italy became as a heretic or an unbeliever. Crusades will hereafter be levied against those who dared impiously to attempt to set bounds to the temporal aggrandisement of the Roman See, or to the personal or nepotic ambition of the ruling Pontiff.

Crusades against heretics.

Against the Pope's enemies.

A new world of heathens was opened before this great dominant principle was effaced or weakened, at

least in the Spanish mind. Spain had owed almost her national existence, her supremacy within her own peninsula to crusades of centuries with the Mohammedans. The conquest of Mexico by Cortes was a crusade; the rapacity, and avarice, and passion for adventure in his followers, disguised itself, even to them, as a pious act for the propagation of the Gospel.

America.

Philip II. justified his exterminating wars in the Low Countries and his hostilities against England on the same principle as his ancestor Ferdinand the Catholic the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. That expulsion of the Moors was almost the last impulse of the irreconcileable hostility which had been kindled in the heart of Christendom by the speech of Pope Urban at Clermont. The wars of the Low Countries were crusades, and finally the Spanish Armada—the last crusade—was swallowed up, we trust but we dare not vaticinate, with the crusading spirit, for ever in the Ocean.

Philip II.

IV. A fourth result of the Crusades, if in its origin less completely so and more transitory and unreal yet in its remote influence felt and actually living in the social manners of our own time, was Chivalry; or at least the religious tone which Chivalry assumed in all its acts, language, and ceremonial. The Crusades swept away, as it were, the last impediment to the wedlock of religion with the warlike propensities of the age. All the noble sentiments, which blended together are chivalry—the high sense of honour, the disdain of or passion for danger, the love of adventure, compassion for the weak or the oppressed, generosity, self-sacrifice, self-devotion for others—found in the Crusades their animating principle, perpetual occasion for their amplest exercise, their perfection and consumma-

Chivalry.

tion. How could the noble Christian knight endure the insults to his Saviour and to his God, the galling shame that the place of his Redeemer's birth and death should be trampled by the scoffer, the denier of his Divinity? Where were adventures to be sought so stirring as in the distant, gorgeous, mysterious East, the land of fabled wealth, the birthplace of wisdom, of all the religions of the world; a land only to be approached by that which was then thought a remote and perilous voyage along the Mediterranean Sea, or by land through kingdoms inhabited by unknown nations and people of strange languages; through Constantinople, the traditions of whose wealth and magnificence prevailed throughout the West? For whom was the lofty mind to feel compassion, if not for the down-trodden victim of Pagan mockery and oppression, his brother-worshipper of the Cross, who for that worship was suffering cruel persecution? To what uses could wealth be so fitly or lavishly devoted as to the rescue of Christ's Sepulchre from the Infidel? To what more splendid martyrdom could the valiant man aspire than to death in the fields which Christ had watered with his own blood? What sacrifice could be too great? Not even the absolute abnegation of home, kindred, the proud castle, the host of retainers, the sumptuous fare, for the tent on the desert, the scanty subsistence it might be (though this they would disdain to contemplate), the dungeon, the bondage in remote Syria. Lastly, and above all, where would be found braver or more worthy antagonists than among the Knights of the Crescent; the invaders, too often it could not be denied, the conquerors of the Christian world? Hence it was that France and Spain were pre-eminently the crusading kingdoms of Europe, and, as it were, the birthplace of

chivalry: Spain as waging her unintermitting crusade against the Saracens of Granada and Cordova, France as furnishing by far the most numerous, and it may be said, with the Normans, the most distinguished leaders of the Crusades, from Godfrey of Boulogne down to Saint Louis; so that the name of Frank and of Christian became almost equivalent in the East.

This singular union, this absolute fusion of the religion of peace with barbarous warfare; this elevation of the Christian knighthood, as it were, into a second hierarchy (even before the establishment of the military orders), had already in some degree begun before the Crusades. The ceremonial of investing the young noble warrior in his arms may be traced back to the German forests. The Church, which interfered in every human act, would hardly stand aloof from this important rite. She might well delude herself with the fond trust that she was not transgressing her proper bounds. The Church might seem to enter into this closer if incongruous alliance with the deliberate design of enslaving war to her own beneficent purposes. She had sometimes gone further; proclaimed a Truce of God; and war, at least private war, had ceased at her bidding.[a] The

[a] The whole question of the Treuga Dei is exhausted in the work of Datt. He thus describes (quoting de Marca de lib. Eccl. Gall.) and dates the first Treuga Dei. "Pacem et Treugam dici hanc a bellis privatis feriationem, quod ratione clericorum omnium, peregrinorum, mercatorum, agricolarum cum bobus aratoriis, Dominarum cum sociis suis omnibus, mulierum omnium, rerum ad clericos monachosque pertinentium, et molendinarum pax ista omni tempore indulta est, ratione cæterorum vero Treuga, tantum, id est induciæ aliquot dierum. Primordia hujus ad annum 1032 aut 1034 referunt." — Radulf. Glaber, v. Datt, p. 11. Read also the excellent Geschichte des Gottenfriedes von Dr. August. Kluckhorn. Leipsic: 1857. The earlier Truce of God in Southern France, proclaimed four days in the week, from Wednesday noon to Monday noon as holy, from respect to the institution of the Eucharist, the passion and resurrection of

clerk, the pilgrim, the merchant, husbandman, pursued his work without fear; women were all secure: all ecclesiastical property, all mills, were under special protection

But in such an age it could but be a truce, a brief, temporary, uncertain truce.* By hallowing war, the Church might seem to divert it from its wanton and iniquitous destructiveness to better purposes, unattainable by her own gentle and persuasive influences; to confine it to objects of justice, even of righteousness; at all events, to soften and humanise the usages of war, which she saw to be inevitable. If, then, before the Crusades, the Church had thus aspired to lay her spell upon war; to enlist it, if not in the actual service of religion, in that of humanity, defence of the oppressed, the widow, the orphan, the persecuted or spoliated peasantry, how much more so when war itself had become religious! The initiation, the solemn dedication to arms, now the hereditary right, almost the indispensable duty, of all high-born men, of princes or nobles (except where they had a special vocation to the Church or the cloister), became more and more formally and distinctly a religious ceremony. The noviciate of the knight was borrowed, with strange but unperceived incongruity, from that of the monk or priest. Both were soldiers of Christ under a different form, and in a different sense. It was a proud day in the Castle (as it was in the cloister when some distinguished votary took the cowl) when

the Lord. How far was this, as well as the Truce of God proclaimed by the Popes (see forward p. 281) actually observed? It is to be feared that the Church, when Popes became more warlike, abrogated or allowed the Truce to fall into desuetude. History hardly records its observance. See the perplexity of the Glossators on the Decretals. Kluckhorn, p. 101. They began to wrangle as to what wars the Ordinance related. Compare also Giesebrecht Deutsche Kaiserzeit, where its origin is admirably developed.—ii. p. 350, &c.

the young heir assumed his arms. The vassals of all orders met around their liege lord; they paid, perhaps, on this joyous occasion alone, their willing and ungrudged fees; they enjoyed the splendour of the spectacle; feasted, if at lower tables, in the same hall; witnessed the jousts or military exercises, the gayer sports, the tricks of the jongleurs, and heard the romances of the Trouveurs. But the clergy were not absent; the early and more impressive solemnity was theirs. The novice, after bathing, bound himself by a vow of chastity (not always too rigidly observed), to shed his blood for the faith, to have the thought of death ever present to his mind. He fasted till the evening, passed the night in prayer in the church or the Castle chapel. At the dawn of morn he confessed; as the evening before he had purified his body by the bath, so now his soul by the absolution; he heard mass, he partook of the Holy Eucharist. He knelt before his godfather in this war-baptism. He was publicly sworn to maintain the right, to be loyal to all true knighthood, to protect the poor from oppression. He must forswear all treason, all injustice. Where woman needed his aid, he must be ever prompt and valiant; to protect her virtue was the first duty and privilege of a true knight. He must fast every Friday, give alms according to his means, keep faith with all the world, especially his brethren in arms, succour, love, honour, all loyal knights. When he had taken his oath, knights and ladies arrayed him in his armour: each piece had its symbolic meaning, its moral lesson. His godfather then struck him with a gentle blow, and laid his sword three times on his neck—"In the name of God, St. Michael (or St. George, or some other tutelar Saint), and (ever) of our Lady, we dub thee knight." The

church bells pealed out; the church rang with acclamations; the knight mounted his horse, and rode round the lists, or over the green meadows, amid the shouts of the rejoicing multitude.

But what young knight, thus dedicated, could doubt that the conquest of the Holy Land was among his primary duties, his noblest privileges? Every knight was a soldier of the Cross; every soldier of the Cross almost enlisted for this great object. There could be no doubt of the justice of his cause, nor of the enemies whom it was his duty to attack and to slaughter without remorse. The infidel, as much as the giant or dragon of romance, was the natural foe of the Christian. Every oppressed Christian (and every Christian in the Holy Land was oppressed) was the object of his sworn protection. Slaying Saracens took rank with fastings, penitential discipline, visits to shrines, even almsgivings, as meritorious of the Divine mercy. So by the Crusades chivalry became more religious, religion more chivalrous; for it was now no unusual, no startling sight, as the knight had become in one sense part of the hierarchy, to behold bishops, priests, serving, fighting as knights. In a holy war the bishop and the abbot stood side by side with the prince or the noble; struck as lusty blows; if they conquered, disdained not the fame; if they fell, supposed that they had as good a right to the honour of martyrdom.

Even the most incongruous and discordant part of chivalry, the devotion to the female sex, took a religious tone. There was one Lady of whom, high above all and beyond all, every knight was the special servant. It has been remarked that in the French language the Saviour and his Virgin Mother are worshipped under

feudal titles (Notre Seigneur, Notre Dame). If the adoration of the Virgin, the culminating point of chivalrous devotion to the female sex, is at times leavened with phrases too nearly allied with human passion, the general tone to the earthly mistress is purified in word, if not always in thought, by the reverence which belongs to the Queen of Heaven. This was the poetry of chivalry—the religious poetry; and in an imaginative age the poetry, if far, very far above the actual life, cannot be absolutely without influence on that life. If this ideal love, in general, existed only in the outward phrase, in the ceremonial address, in the sonnet, or in the song; if, in fact, the Christianised Platonic love of chivalry in real life too often degenerated into gross licentiousness; if the sanctity of marriage, which permitted without scruple, the homage, the adoration of the true knight in consideration of his valour and fidelity, was not only perpetually endangered; but habitually violated, and the violation became the subject of sympathy rather than of reprobation; yet, on the whole, the elevation, even the inharmonious religiousness of chivalry, must have wrought for the benefit of mankind. War itself became, if not less sanguinary, conducted with more mutual respect, with some restraint. Christian chivalry, in Spain and in the Holy Land, encountered Asiatic Mohammedan chivalry. For in the Arab, in most of the Oriental races, there was a native chivalry, as among the Teutonic or European Christians. If Achilles, as has been finely said, is a model of knighthood, so is the Arabian Antar. But both Achilles and Antar may meet in Richard Cœur de Lion; though Saladin, perhaps (and Saladin described by Christian as well as Mohammedan writers), may

transcend all three.[a] Hence sprang courtesy, at least an initiatory humanity in war; hence that which proclaimed itself, which might have been expected to continue, the most bloody, remorseless, internecine strife, gradually became subject to the ordinary laws of war, in some respects to a restraint above the prevailing laws of war. Thus the most intolerant strife worked itself into something bordering on toleration. There was a contest of honour, as of arms.

If, finally, the Crusades infused into the mind of Europe a thirst for persecution long indelible; if they furnished an authority for persecution which wasted continents, and darkened centuries with mutual hostility: yet Chivalry, at once, as it were, the parent and the child of the Crusades, left upon European manners, especially in the high-born class, a punctilious regard for honour, a generous reverence for justice, and a hatred (perhaps a too narrow and aristocratical hatred) of injustice; a Teutonic respect for the fair sex; an element, in short, of true nobleness, of refinement, of gentleness, and of delicacy. The chivalrous word courtesy designates a new virtue, not ordained by our religion; and words are not formed but out of the wants, usages, and sentiments of men; and courtesy is not yet an obsolete term. Even gallantry, now too often sunk to a frivolous or unnatural sense, yet retains something of its old nobility, when it comprehended valour, frankness, honourable devotion to woman. The age of chivalry may be gone, but the influences of chivalry, it may be hoped, mingling with and softened by purer religion, will be the imperishable heir-loom of social man.

[a] Compare Mr. Hallam's passage on chivalry. It were presumption now to praise that book; but I may be permitted to say, that this is one of the very best passages in the History of the Middle Ages.—ii. p. 450.

BOOK VIII.

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

POPES.	EMPERORS OF GERMANY.	KINGS OF HUNGARY.	ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.	KINGS OF FRANCE.
A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.
		1095 Koloman 1114		
1099 Paschal II. 1118				
			Notker 1108	1100 Philip I. 1108
	Henry IV. 1106 1106 Henry V. 1125			
			1108 Ruthard 1109	1108 Louis VI. 1137
		1114 Stephen II. 1131	1111 Albert, Chancellor, of Saarbruck 1137	
1118 Gelasius II. 1119 1119 Calixtus II. 1124 1118 (Burdinus. Gregory VIII. antipope 1121) 1121 (Theobald. Cœlestine antipope) 1124 Honorius II. 1130				
	1125 Lothair the Saxon 1137			
1130 Innocent II. 1143 1130 Anacletus II. antipope 1138				
		1131 Bela II. 1141		
	1137 Conrad III. 1152		1137 Albert II. of Saarbruck 1141	1137 Louis VII. 1180
1138 Victor IV. antipope				
		1141 Geisa III. 1161	1141 Markolf 1142 1142 Henry 1153	
1143 Cœlestine II. 1144 1144 Lucius II. 1145 1145 Eugenius III. 1153				
1153 Hadrian IV. 1159	1152 Frederick I. (Barbarossa) 1190		1153 Arnold of Seelenhoven 1160	
1159 Alexander III. 1181 1159 (Victor IV. antipope) 1164			1160 Conrad of Wittlesbach 1164	
		1161 Ladislaus II. 1162 Stephen III. 1162 1163 Stephen IV. 1173		
1164 (Paschal III. antipope) 1168			1164 Christian von Bach 1183	
1168 (Calixtus III. antipope) 1178		1173 Bela III. 1196		
				1180 Philip Augustus
1181 Lucius III. 1185			1183 Conrad of Wittlesbach	
1185 Urban III. 1187 1187 Gregory VIII. 1187 Clement III. 1191				*Archbishops of Rheims.*
1191 Cœlestine III. 1198	1190 Henry V. 1197			1097 Manasseh II. 1106 1107 Rodolf 1124 1124 Rainald II. 1139 1140 Samson 1161 1162 Henry I. 1176 1176 William 1202
		1196 Emeric		
	1197 Philip			

CONTEMPORARY CHRONOLOGY.

KINGS OF ENGLAND.	KINGS OF SPAIN.	KINGS OF DENMARK.	EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	ARCHBISHOPS OF MILAN.
A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.	A.D. — A.D.
	Castile.		1081 Alexius I. 1118	
William Rufus 1100	1072 Alfonso I. 1109	1095 Erick I. 1105		1097 Anselm IV. 1101
1100 Henry I. 1135				1102 Grossolano 1112
	1109 Urraca 1126	1105 Nicolas 1134		
	1126 Alfonso II. 1157			1112 Giordano 1120
			1118 John I. 1143	
	Sancho III. 1158			1120 Ulrick 1126
	1158 Alfonso 1214			1126 Ansel 1136
1135 Stephen 1154	*Arragon.*			
	1094 Peter I. 1104	1134 Erick II. 1137		1136 Robaldo 1145
		1137 Erick III. 1147		
	1104 Alfonso I. 1134		1143 Manuel 1180	1145 Oberto 1166
	1134 Ramiro II. 1137	1147 Sweno IV.		
1154 Henry II. 1189		Canute V. 1154-7		
		1157 Waldemar 1181		
	1137 Petronella and Raymond 1162			
	1162 Alfonso II. 1196			
				1166 Galdino 1176
	1196 Pedro II. 1213			
1189 Richard I. 1199				1176 Algisi 1184
Archbishops of Canterbury.			1180 Alexius II. 1183	
	Portugal.	1181 Canute VI. 1202	1183 Andronicus I. 1185	1184 Uberto Crivelli 1187
Anselm 1109	1100 Henry 1112		1185 Isaac Angelus 1195	1187 Milo de Cordano 1195
(Vacant) 1114				
1114 Ralph 1122				
1122 William 1127				
1127 Corbell 1138				
1138 Theobald 1161	1112 Alfonso 1185		1195 Alexius III. 1204	
1162 T. Becket 1173				1195 Oberto II. 1196
1173 Richard 1184				1196 Philip de Compagnara 1206
1184 Baldwin 1190				
1191 Reginald 1198				
1198 Hubert	1185 Sancho 1212			

BOOK VIII.



CHAPTER I.

End of the Emperor Henry IV.

General view of the period.

The hundred years which elapsed between the death of Urban II. and the accession of Innocent III. in whom the Papal power attained its utmost height, were nearly coincident with the twelfth century. Of the sixteen Popes who ruled during this period, the Pontificates of two, Paschal II. and Alexander III., occupy near forty years. The reigns of Calixtus II., of Innocent II., and of Adrian IV., are distinguished each by its memorable event; the first by the settlement of the dispute concerning the investitures in the compact of Worms; the second by the coronation of Lothair the Saxon, and the intimate alliance between the Papacy and the Empire; the third by the coronation of Frederick Barbarossa and the execution of Arnold of Brescia.

It was an age of great men and of great events, preparing the world for still greater. It was the age of the Crusades, not merely the expeditions of vast undisciplined hordes, or the leagues of knights, nobles, and princes, but of the regular armies of great sovereigns at the head of the powers of their kingdoms. Two Emperors of Germany, two Kings of France, and one of England, at different times led their forces for the recovery of

the holy sepulchre. The close of the last century beheld the rise, the present will behold the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem; the vain attempt of Philip Augustus of France and of Richard of England to restore it; the rise of the military orders, the Knights of St. John and the Templars, their organisation, their long and stubborn resistance to Mohammedanism in its Asiatic territory; their retreat to take their defensive stand on the frontiers of Christendom; the final triumph of the unconquerable Saladin; after which the East settled down again under the scarce-disturbed and iron sway of Mohammedanism. The later Crusades were diverted to other quarters, to Constantinople and to Egypt; the Emperor Frederick II. alone visited the Holy Land, and by negotiation rather than by arms obtained better terms of capitulation for the Christians.

Western Christendom, in this age, beheld in France the growing power of the monarchy; in England the first ineffectual struggles of the nation and of the king for ecclesiastical freedom; in Germany the rise of the House of Hohenstaufen, the most formidable, for a time the most successful, antagonists of the Papacy; in Italy the foundation of the Lombard republics, the attempt to set up a temporal commonwealth in Rome; the still growing ascendancy of the Papacy, notwithstanding the perpetual or ever-renewed schism, and the aspiration of the Romans to share in the general establishment of republican institutions.

Nor was it only the age in which new political views began to develope themselves, and the temporal affairs of Christendom to take a more permanent form; a great intellectual movement was now approaching. Men appeared, whose thoughts and studies began to awaken the slumbering mind of Europe. Their own or after

ages have felt and recognised the power of Anselm, Abélard, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Arnold of Brescia. The religious republicanism of Arnold, the least intellectual impulse, was that which produced the most immediate but the least enduring effects: he was crushed by the uncongenial times. The strong arm of the temporal and ecclesiastical power combined to put down the rebel against both. To all outward appearance the doctrines of Arnold perished with him on his funeral pyre. They may have lurked among the more odious hidden tenets of some among the heretical sects which were persecuted so violently during the next century; kindred principles are so congenial to human nature, and so sure to be provoked into being by the inordinate wealth and ambition of the Church, that no doubt they were latent and brooding in many hearts: but Arnold founded no sect, left no writings, had no avowed followers. Those who in later times advanced similar tenets, Wycliffe, Huss, Savonarola, may never have heard of their premature ancestor. Of the other three great names, Bernard was the intellectual representative of his own age, Anselm the forerunner of that which was immediately to come, Abélard of one far more remote. Bernard has been called the last of the Fathers; Anselm was the parent of the schoolmen; Abélard the prophet of a bolder and severer philosophy, the distant harbinger of Descartes, of Locke, and of Kant. Each must find his proper place in our history.

Pope Paschal II. A.D. 1099. Aug. 13, 14.

Paschal II., another monk of Clugny, already a cardinal of the Church, succeeded Urban II. He had been bred in the school of Gregory VII., but with much of the ambition he possessed not the obstinate fortitude of his predecessors. The death of the Antipope Clement, expelled at length

from Rome by Pope Paschal immediately on his accession, followed during the year after that of Urban. Guibert of Ravenna must have been a man of strong resolution, great capacity, and power of commanding respect and ardent attachment. He had not only an active and faithful party while he had hopes of attaining the ascendancy, but his adherents, many of whom no doubt could have made their peace by disloyalty to their master, clung fondly to him under the most adverse circumstances. His death did not extinguish their affections; the followers of the Antipope declared that many miracles were wrought at his tomb.

A.D. 1100. September.

Christendom might hope that the schism would expire with this rival of so many Popes. The Imperial party in Italy whose interest it might have been, if still powerful, to contest the see, was utterly depressed, and indeed so nearly extinct that it might seem the better policy to conciliate the ruling Pontiff. The Emperor Henry had retired beyond the Alps, discomfited, broken in spirit by the revolt of his son, in affliction, in disgust, in despair. The affairs of Germany, as he descended the Alps, might appear no less dark and unpromising. His enemies had gained the ascendancy in almost all parts; they had established a truce throughout the Empire, which might seem to overawe any attempts on his part to resume his power, while it left them to pursue their intrigues and strengthen their alliances at their pleasure.

The presence of Henry in his native land appeared to work a sudden revolution in his favour. Germany, with a generous sympathy, seemed disposed to console her now aged Emperor for the wrongs and afflictions which he had suffered in Italy. In a few years he found himself sufficiently powerful to establish a more perfect, it might be hoped an enduring,

Strong reaction in favour of Henry.

Peace of the Empire; and Germany assented to his just revenge against his revolted son Conrad, by assenting to his demand to devolve the inheritance of his German crown on his younger son Henry.

Many circumstances conspired in favour of the Emperor. The German leagues seemed fated to fall asunder from the mutual jealousy of the princes. Duke Guelf of Bavaria had been driven into Henry's party by his indignation at the conduct of the Countess Matilda, and the fraud which he asserted she had practised on his son. She had tempted the youth to marriage by the hopes of her vast patrimony, which she had deliberately in broken faith settled on the Church. His only chance of wresting away the patrimony, to which he asserted his son's right, was by the aid of Henry. He became an ardent Imperialist.

Effects of Crusades.

The Crusades had not produced the same effects in Germany as in France, in Burgundy, and in other countries in Europe. They had not drained away and were not continuing to drain away to the same extent the turbulent and enterprising of the population. The more calm or sluggish German devotion had not kindled to the same violent enthusiasm. It was no less strong and profound, but was content with a more peaceful and, as it were, domestic sphere. Just before the Crusades the monastic system had shown a sudden and powerful impulse to development and extension. New monasteries had been founded on a magnificent scale; knights and princes had retired into cloisters; laymen by thousands, especially in Swabia, made over their estates to these religious institutions, and even where they did not take the vows, pledged themselves to live according to the rule, to forsake their secular employments, and devote themselves to the ser-

vice of monks and ecclesiastics. The daughters of free peasants formed themselves into religious sisterhoods under the direction of some respected priest, and the inhabitants of whole villages embraced at once the religious life, and vied with each other in their austerities.[a]

Still the Crusades absorbed the public mind, and diverted it for a time from the internal feuds of the Empire. Germany, where not drawn away by the torrent of fanaticism, was suddenly called upon to defend itself against the lawless votaries of the cross. The crusading cause was by no means commended to respect or to emulation by the general sufferings witnessed or endured in many parts of the land from the Crusaders. The hordes of the first loose and ungoverned soldiers of the cross passed through Germany restrained by no discipline, and considering their holy cause not merely an expiation for their former sins, but a licence for sinning more freely, from the assurance of full pardon in the Holy Land. The first swarm under Walter Perejo and his nephew Walter the Pennyless, with eight knights to command 15,000 men, had straggled through the whole of Germany from Cologne, where they parted from Peter the Hermit, to the frontiers of Hungary. Then followed Peter the Hermit, whose eloquence was not without effect on the lower orders. His host gathered as it advanced through Bavaria, Swabia, Austria, till from 15,000 it had swollen to 40,000 followers, without the least attempt at array or organisation. Two other armies brought up the rear, one from Lorraine and the Lower Rhine, led by the ferocious Emico, Count of Leiningen, the other under the priests Folkmar and Gotschalk, a man whose fanaticism was suspected to be

[a] Stenzel, p. 560. Bernold, sub. ann. 1091.

subservient to baser sordid motives. The march of these formidable hosts spread terror throughout the whole land. They had begun by the massacre of the Jews in the great cities on the Rhine; their daily sustenance was by plunder, or from that compulsory provision for their necessities which was plunder in another form, and which was reluctantly doled out in order to get rid of the unwelcome guests. All this tended to quell rather than awaken the crusading enthusiasm among the Germans, who had few examples either among their princes or princely bishops to urge them into the tide. The aged Guelf of Bavaria, almost alone among the sovereign princes, the Bishops of Saltzburg, Passau, and Strasbürg, among the great prelates, the two first strong anti-Imperialists, left their palaces; and, as of these not one returned to his native land, their example rather repressed than excited the ardour of others.

The Emperor resumes his power.

The secret of the Emperor's quiet resumption of power lay no doubt in a great degree in the pre-occupation of men's minds with this absorbing subject. His first act on his return to Germany was one of generous justice and humanity—the protection of the persecuted Jews. This truly imperial conduct was not without its advantage. He exacted severe restitution of all the wealth plundered from these unhappy men; that, however, of those who had been murdered was escheated, as without lawful owner, to the Imperial treasury. Some of the ecclesiastics had behaved with Christian humanity. The Bishops of Worms and of Spires ran some risk in saving as many as they could of this defenceless people. The Archbishop of Treves, less generous, gave them refuge in his palace on condition that they would submit to baptism. Some of the kindred of Ruthard, the Archbishop of

Mentz, had joined in the general pillage; the prelate was more than suspected of participation in the guilt and in the booty. When summoned to an account he fled from the city, and with his kindred shut himself up in the strong castle of Hardenberg in the Thuringian forest. The Emperor seized the revenues of the see, but took no steps to depose the Prelate. It was probably from this time that the Jews were taken under feudal protection by the Emperor; they became his men, owing to him special allegiance, and with full right therefore to his protection. This privilege, in after times, they bought dearly, being constantly subject to heavy exactions, which were enforced by merciless persecutions.

The Emperor had already reinstated Guelf of Bavaria in his dukedom, and entailed the inheritance on his sons. Henry held a Diet at Mentz to settle the contested claims of Swabia. A satisfactory arrangement was made, by which the rising house of Hohenstaufen became Dukes of Northern Swabia. For their rival, Berthold of Zahringen, a new dukedom was created, comprehending Zurich, the country between the Jura and the St. Bernard, with his patrimonial Countship of the Brisgau. Of all the great princes and prelates none were in hostility to the Emperor but the fugitive Archbishop of Mentz.

Dec. 1097.

Henry seized the favourable opportunity to compass the great object which he had at heart. He urged upon the princes and bishops, in public and in private, the unnatural rebellion of his son Conrad, who had conspired against the crown, and even the life of his father. He pressed the fatal example of such treason against a sovereign and a parent. Conrad had justly forfeited his claim to the succession, which fell of right to his younger brother Henry. To Conrad there could be no

attachment among the princes in Germany; if known, he could only be known as a soft and fantastic youth. He had fallen into contempt, notwithstanding his royal title, in Italy, as a mere instrument in the hands of the crafty Matilda and of the Pope. Sympathy with the injured father, and prudent considerations for the interest of the Empire, as well as the urgent solicitations of the Emperor, swayed the majority of the princes. In a great Diet at Cologne, Conrad was declared to have forfeited his title. With unanimous consent the succession was adjudged to his younger brother Henry, who was anointed King at Aix-la-Chapelle. The suspicious father exacted a solemn oath from his son, that during his father's lifetime, and without his permission, he would neither claim the government of the Empire, nor even the patrimonial territories. As if oaths would bind a son who should despise the affection and authority of a father! The death of Conrad removed all fears of a contention between the brothers for the Imperial Crown.

Jan. 6, 1099.

July, 1101.

All was prosperity with Henry: his turbulent and agitated life seemed as if it would close in an august and peaceful end. By skilful concessions, by liberal grants, by courteous demeanour, he reconciled, or more firmly attached the Princes of Saxony, Bohemia, and other parts of Germany to his cause. Even religious hatred seemed to be dying away; his unrepealed excommunication was forgotten; and some of the severest ecclesiastics of the Papal party condescended to accept promotion from the hands of the interdicted Sovereign.

The Emperor proclaimed Peace throughout the land and the realm for four years;[b] he required a solemn

[b] Land und Reich's Friede. It comprehended private and public wars.

oath from the princes to maintain this peace; he imposed heavy penalties on its violation; and (in these times a wonderful and unprecedented event!) the Emperor was obeyed. The writers of the period speak of the effects of this peace on all classes and conditions, especially on the poor and defenceless, with admiring astonishment. The ways became safe, commerce began to flourish; the cultivation of the land went happily on. What seemed most astonishing was, that boats could descend the large rivers without being stopped and plundered by the great cities on the banks, who might be in want of their corn and other commodities; that the powerful were held in check; that might for a time ceased to be right. The truce of the Empire, though proclaimed by the excommunicated Henry, was as well observed and as great a blessing as the truce of God at times proclaimed by the Pope or the hierarchy.[c] Still the fatal excommunication hung over the head of Henry. The golden opportunity was missed of putting an end to the schism, on the death of the Antipope Guibert, without loss of dignity; of obtaining from a Pontiff of Paschal's more pliant character less injurious terms. The miserable failure of the attempt to support a successor to Guibert ought to have urged the same policy. Three were appointed in succession: one, Theodore, fled from the city immediately that he was invested in his perilous honours. One hundred and five days after he was in the power of Paschal, condemned to be a hermit.[d] The second, Albert, was chosen Pope and "dispoped" in the same day; dragged on a horse with his face to the tail before the Pope, who sat in state in the Lateran; he was thrust into the monastery of St.

Peace of the empire. Jan. A.D. 1103.

[c] Vita Henrici, p. 386.

[d] Pandulph Pisan., 1. Ann. Roman., 1.

Laurence in Aversa.[e] The third, Maginolfo, who took the name of Silvester IV., had a longer Papal life. He had been raised by a strong party hostile to Paschal II., but was abandoned by all, and eventually deposed by the Emperor himself.[f] To this more pacific course, the recognition of Paschal, the Emperor was strongly persuaded by his wiser friends: he even announced his intention of visiting Rome to effect a reconciliation of all parties by his personal presence; to submit to a General Council the whole dispute between himself and the Pope. It would have been well not to have announced this intention to which it was difficult to adhere, and which he had strong motives to renounce. Henry may naturally have shrunk from venturing again on the inhospitable soil of Italy, so fatal to his glory and his peace. He may have hesitated to leave the affairs of Germany in their yet precarious state; for the peace had neither been proclaimed nor accepted by the princes. Many of the Imperialist bishops may have been alarmed lest their titles, resting on the authority of the Antipope, might be shaken by any concession to that Pope who had condemned them as usurpers of their sees.

A.D. 1105. Nov. 18.

A.D. 1101-2.

Henry appeared not in Italy; and Paschal proceeded without delay to renew the Excommunication. This sentence is remarkable, as being recorded by one who himself heard it delivered by the Pope. "Because the King, Henry, has never ceased to rend the vesture of Christ, that is, to lay waste the Church by plunder and conflagration; to defile it by his sensualities, his perjuries, and his homicides; and hath

Paschal excommunicates Henry. A.D. 1102.

[e] This was the one who, according to Muratori's expression, was dispoped, dispapato.—Annal. Roman. Pandulph Pisan.

[f] Annal. Leodicen. apud Pertz.—Annales Roman.

therefore, first by Pope Gregory of blessed memory, afterwards by the most holy Urban, my predecessor, on account of his contumacy, been excommunicated and condemned: We also, in this our Synod, by the judgement of the whole Church, deliver him up to a perpetual anathema. And this we would have known to all, especially to those beyond the Alps, that they may abstain from all fellowship in his iniquity."[g]

This renewal of the excommunication had no immediate effect on the fidelity either of Henry's temporal or spiritual subjects. Many ecclesiastics of high rank and character were about his court; above all, Otho the Apostle of Pomerania. Otho had been compelled with difficulty to accept the bishopric of Bamberg. "The ambitious man," said the Emperor to the Ambassadors from that city, "he has already refused two bishoprics, Halberstadt and Augsburg, and would now reject the third." Otho accepted the investiture of the fief from Henry, but required the assent of the Pope to his consecration. In other respects this holy man was on the most intimate footing with the Emperor; his private chaplain, who instructed him in the Church psalmody. The Emperor even learned to sing and to compose Church music. Otho prepared for him a course of sermons for the whole year, so short as to be easily retained in the memory.

Nor did this violent measure of the Pope provoke the Emperor to hostility. At the same time that he established peace throughout the Empire, he endeavoured with apparent earnestness to restore peace to the Church. He publicly announced his intention, as soon

[g] March 12. Urspergensis. See Mansi, Concil. Ann. 1102. Eccard Chronic. ap Pertz, vi. 224.

as he should be reconciled to the Pope, to make over the Empire to his son, and to undertake a Crusade to the Holy Land. Many of the more distinguished warriors of Germany were prepared to follow his footsteps.

But this most secure and splendid period in the life of Henry IV. was like one calm and brilliant hour of evening before a night of utter gloom. The greatest act of his power, the establishment of peace throughout the Empire, was fatal to that power. The proclamation of war against Mohammedanism was the triumph, the confirmation of the Pope's supremacy; the maintenance of peace the ruin of the Emperor. At the same time when the interdict seemed to sit so lightly upon him, it was working in secret, and reconciling his most faithful followers to treason and to rebellion.

The peace—so precious and so unwonted a blessing to the lower orders, to the peasant, the artisan, the trader, which made the roads and rivers alive with commerce —was not merely irksome, it was degrading and ruinous to the warlike nobles. The great feudatories more immediately around the court complained that the Emperor had not only deprived them of their occupation, of their glory, of their power; but that he was deluding them with a false promise of employing their eager and enterprising valour in the Holy Land. They were wasting their estates on soldiers for whom they had no use, and in idle but costly attendance on a court which dallied with their noble solicitude for active life. Throughout the Empire the princes had for thirty restless years enjoyed the proud privilege of waging war against their neighbours, of maintaining their armed followers by the plunder of their enemies, or of the peaceful commercial traveller. This source of wealth, of power, of busy

occupation, was cut off. They could no longer sally from their impregnable castles and bring home the rich and easy booty. While the low-born vulgar were rising in opulence or independence, they were degraded to distress and ruin and famine. Their barns and cellars were no longer stocked with the plundered produce of neighbouring fields or vineyards; they were obliged to dismiss or to starve their once gallant and numerous retinue.[h] He who was accustomed to ride abroad on a foaming courser was reduced to a sorry nag; he who disdained to wear any robes which were not dyed with purple must now appear in coarse attire of the same dull colour which it had by nature. Among the princes of the Empire it was more easy to establish than to maintain peace. The old jealousies and animosities were constantly breaking out; the Bavarian house looked with suspicion on the favour shown to that of Saxony. Lawless acts were committed, either in popular insurrection or in sudden quarrels (as in the murder of Count Sighard near Ratisbon). Dark rumours were immediately propagated of connivance, at least of indolent negligence on the part of the Emperor. The dissatisfaction was deep, dangerous, universal. The rebellion was ripe, it wanted but a cause and a leader.

Unpopularity of peace.

The Emperor had seen with delight the intimacy which had grown up between his son and the nobles in his court. This popularity might strengthen and secure his succession to the throne. The Prince, in all the ardour of youth, joined in their sports, their huntings, their banquets, and in less seemly diversions. The associates of a prince soon grow into a party. The older and more subtle enemies of Henry,

The young Henry.

[h] Vita Henrici apud Pertz.

the Papal or religious faction, saw this, too, with pleasure. They availed themselves of these younger agents to provoke and inflame his ambition. It was time, they suggested, that he should be released from the yoke of his weak and aged but severe father; that he should no longer live as a slave without any share or influence in public affairs; the succession, his lawful right, might now be his own, if he would seize it. What it might be after his father's death, what rivals might contest it, who could foresee? or even in his father's lifetime; for it depended entirely on his caprice. He had disinherited one son, he might another. The son's oath, his extorted oath of obedience, was itself invalid; for it had been pledged to an excommunicated person; it was already annulled by the sentence of the Church.

The Emperor was without the least apprehension, or even suspicion of this conspiracy. With his son he set out at the head of an army to punish a certain Count Theodoric, who had surprised Hartwig the Archbishop Elect and the Burgrave of Magdeburg on their way to Liège, where the Prelate was to receive his investiture from the Emperor. The Papal party had chosen another Archbishop, Henry, who had been already expelled from the see of Paderborn. They had reached Fritzlar, when the Prince Henry suddenly left his father's camp, fled to Ratisbon, where he was joined by many of the younger nobles and princes, and raised the standard of revolt.

Revolt of Prince Henry.

No sooner had the Emperor heard of his son's flight than he sent messengers after messengers to implore him to respect his solemn oath, to remember his duty to his father, his allegiance to his sovereign, and not to expose himself to the scorn and hatred of mankind. The son sent back a cold reply, that he could have

nothing to do with one under sentence of excommunication. In deep sorrow Henry returned to Mentz; the Archbishop of Cologne and Duke Frederick of Swabia undertook the pious office of reconciling the son and the father. The son rejected all their advances until his father should be reconciled to the Church.

Dec. 1104.

No evidence implicates the Pope in the guilt of suggesting or advising this impious and unnatural rebellion. But the first act of the young Henry was to consult the Pope as to the obligation of his oath of allegiance. The holy father, daringly ascribing this dissension between the son and his parent to the inspiration of God, sent him without reserve the apostolic blessing, and gave him absolution, on condition that he should rule with justice and be faithful to the Church, for his rebellion against his father, an absolution in the final judgement of Christ![1]

So was Germany plunged again into a furious civil war. Everywhere in the State and in the Church the old factions broke out in unmitigated ferocity. The papal clergy were the first to show their weariness of the unwelcome peace. At a meeting at Goslar the clergy of Saxony resolved to expel all the intruding and Simoniac bishops (those who had received investiture from the Emperor), if alive, from their sees, if dead, to dig up their bodies and cast them out of the churches; to re-ordain by Catholic hands all whom those prelates had received into orders, to interdict the exercise of any function in the Church to the married clergy.

The young Henry conducted his own affairs with con-

[1] So writes an ecclesiastical chronicler. "Apostolicus, ut audivit inter patrem et filium dissidium, *sperans hoc a Deo evenire* . . . . de hoc commisso sibi promittens absolutionem in judicio futuro."—Annal. Hildesheim.

summate vigour, subtlety, perfidy, and hypocrisy. In a great assembly of bishops, abbots, monks, and clergy, as well as of the people, at Nordhausen, he appeared without the dress or ensigns of royalty, and refused to ascend the throne; but while he declared himself ready to confirm all the old laws and usages of the realm, he dared to pray with profuse tears for the conversion of his father, protested that he had not revolted against him with any view to the succession or with any design to depose him: that on the instant of his reconciliation with the Pope he would submit in dutiful fidelity. The simple multitude were deluded by his tears; the assembly broke out into an unanimous shout of approbation; the Kyrie Eliéson was sung by priests and people with accordant earnestness.

The tragedy was hastening towards its close. In every quarter the Emperor found lukewarmness, treachery, and desertion. Prelates who had basked in his favour were suddenly convinced of their sin in communicating with an interdicted man, and withdrew from the court. The hostile armies were in presence not far from Ratisbon; the leaders were seized with an unwonted respect for human life, and with dread of the horrors of civil war. The army of the son retired, but remained unbroken, that of the father melted away and dispersed. He was obliged to take refuge in Mentz. Once before, young Henry had moved towards Mentz to reinstate the expelled Archbishop Ruthard, the man accused of the plunder and even of the massacre of the Jews. Thence he had retired, being unable to cross the Rhine; now, however, he effected his passage with little difficulty, having bribed the officer commanding in Spires. Before Mentz the son coldly rejected all propositions from his father to divide the Empire, and to

leave the decision of all disputes between them to the Diet. He still returned the same stern demand of an impossible preliminary to negotiation—his father's reconciliation with the Church: but as if with some lingering respect, he advised the Emperor to abandon Mentz, lest he should fall into the hands of his enemies. Henry fled to the strong castle of Hammerstein, from thence to Cologne. The Archbishop of Cologne had already taken the stronger side; the citizens were true to the Emperor. A diet was summoned at Metz, at which the legate of the Pope was to be present. The Emperor hastily collected all the troops he could command on the Lower Rhine, and advanced to break up this dangerous council. The army of the younger Henry having obtained some advantage stood opposed to that of the father on the banks of the Rhine not far from Coblentz. But the son, so long as he could compass his ends by treachery, would not risk his cause on the doubtful issue of a battle. An interview took place on the banks of the Moselle. At the sight of his son the passionate fondness of the father overpowered all sense of dignity or resentment. He threw himself at the feet of young Henry; he adjured him by the welfare of his soul. "I know that my sins deserve the chastisement of God, but do not thou sully thy honour and thy name. No law of God obliges a son to be the instrument of divine vengeance against his father." The son seemed deeply moved; he bowed to the earth beside his father, entreated his forgiveness with many tears, promised obedience as a son, allegiance as a vassal, if his father would give satisfaction to the Church. He proposed that both should dismiss their armies, each with only three hundred knights repair to Mentz to pass together the holy season of Christmas. There he

solemnly swore that he would labour for lasting reconcilement. The Emperor gave orders to disband his army. In vain his more cautious and faithful followers remonstrated against this imprudence. He only summoned his son again, who lulled his suspicions by a second solemn oath for his safety. At Bingen they passed the night together; the son showed the most profound respect, the father yielded himself up to his long-suppressed feelings of love. The night was spent in free and tender conversation with his son, not unmingled with caresses. Little thought he, writes the historian, that this was the last night in which he would enjoy the luxury of parental fondness. The following day pretexts were found for conveying the Emperor, not to Mentz, but to the strong castle of Bechelheim near Kreuznach. Henry could but remind his son of the perils and difficulties which he had undergone to secure him the succession to the Empire. A third time young Henry pledged his own head for the security of his father. Yet no sooner was he, with a few attendants, within the castle, than the gates were closed—the Emperor Henry IV. was a prisoner! His gaoler was a churchman, his enemy the Bishop Gebhard of Spires, whom he had formerly expelled from his see. Either from neglect or cruelty he was scantily provided with food; he was denied a barber to shave his beard and the use of the bath. The inexorable bigot would not permit the excommunicated the ministrations of a priest, still less the holy Eucharist on the Lord's Nativity. He was compelled by menaces against his life to command the surrender of all the regalia which had been left in the castle of Hammerstein.

Henry IV. a prisoner.

The Diet, attended by almost all the magnates of the Empire, assembled at Mentz; but it was not safe to

bring the fallen Henry before that meeting, for there, as elsewhere, the honest popular sympathy was strong on the side of the father and of the Emperor. He was carried to the castle of Ingelheim in the Palatinate; there, stripped of every ensign of royalty, broken by indignities of all kinds, by the insolent triumph of his foes, the perfidy of his friends, the Emperor stood before a Diet composed entirely of his enemies, the worst of those enemies his son, and the Papal Legate at their head. He was urged, on peril of his life, to abdicate. "On that condition," he inquired, "will ye guarantee my life?" The Legate of the Pope replied, and demanded this further condition; he should publicly acknowledge that he had unjustly persecuted the holy Gregory, wickedly set up the Antipope Guibert, and oppressed the Church. In vain he strove for less humiliating terms, and even for delay and for a more regular judgement. His inexorable enemies offered him but this alternative or perpetual imprisonment. He then implored that, at least, if he conceded all, he might be at once released from excommunication. The Cardinal replied, that was beyond his powers; the Emperor must go to Rome to be absolved. All were touched with some compassion except the son. The Emperor surrendered everything, his castles, his treasures, his patrimony, his empire: he declared himself unworthy to reign any longer.

The Diet returned to Mentz, elected and invested Henry V. in the Empire, with the solemn warning that if he did not rule with justice and protect the Church, he must expect the fate of his father. A deputation of the most distinguished prelates from every part of Germany was sent to Rome to settle the terms of reconciliation between the Empire and the Pope.

But in the German people the natural feelings of justice and of duty, the generous sympathies with age and greatness and cruel wrong, were not extinguished, as in the hearts of the princes by hatred and ambition, in the ecclesiastics by hatred and bigotry. In a popular insurrection at Colmar, caused partly by the misconduct of his own troops, the new Emperor was discomfited and obliged to fly with the loss of the regalia of the Empire. The old Henry received warning from some friendly hand that nothing now awaited him but perpetual imprisonment or death. He made his escape to Cologne; the citizens heard the account of his sufferings with indignant compassion, and at once embarked in his cause. He retired to Liège, where he was received with the utmost honours by the Bishop Otbert and the inhabitants of the city.

People in favour of Henry IV.

A.D. 1106.

The abdicated Emperor was again at the head of a powerful party. Henry of Lorraine and other princes of the Empire, incensed at his treatment, promised to meet him in arms at Liège, and there to celebrate the feast of Easter. The young Henry, intoxicated by his success, and miscalculating the strength of feeling aroused in his father's cause, himself proclaimed a Diet at Liège to expel his father from that city, and to punish those who had presumed to receive him. He rejected with scorn his father's submissive, suppliant expostulations. So mistrustful had the old man become that he was with difficulty prevailed upon to remain and keep his Easter at Liège. His friends urged the unseemliness of his holding that great festival in some wild wood or cavern. But the enemy approached; Cologne offered no resistance: there the young Emperor observed Palm Sunday in great state. He advanced to

Aix-la-Chapelle, but in an attempt to cross the Maes his troops suffered a shameful defeat. He fled back to Cologne; that city now ventured to close its gates and drove the king and the archbishop from their walls. Henry V. retired to Bonn, and there kept his Easter, but without imperial pomp.

At Worms he passed Whitsuntide, and laid Henry of Lorraine and all his father's partisans under the ban of the Empire: he summoned all the feudatories of Germany to meet at Wurzburg in July. Once more at the head of a formidable army he marched to crush the rebellion, as it was called, of his father, and to avenge the shame of his recent defeat. But Cologne had strengthened her walls and manned them with a large garrison. The city resisted with obstinate valour. Henry V. was forced to undertake a regular siege, to blockade the town, and endeavour to reduce it by famine. His army advanced towards Aix-la-Chapelle; all negotiations failed from the mutual distrust and animosity; a battle seemed inevitable which should decide the fate of the father and the son.

Death of Henry.

But Henry IV. was now beyond either the melancholy triumph over a rebellious son or the shame of defeat, and of those consequences which might have been anticipated if he had fallen again into those ruthless hands. On the 7th of August Erlembold, the faithful chamberlain of the Emperor, arrived in the camp of Henry with the diadem and sword of his father, the last ensigns of his imperial dignity. Worn out with fatigue and sorrow, Henry IV. had closed in peace his long and agitated life, his eventful reign of near fifty years. His dying prayers to his son were for forgiveness on account of these last acts of hostility, to which he had been driven by hard ex

A.D. 1056-1106.

tremity, and the request that his earthly remains might repose with those of his ancestors in the cathedral of Spires.

No one can know whether any gentler emotions of pity, remorse, or filial love, in the tumult of rejoicing at this unexpected success, touched the heart of the son with tender remorse. The last request was inexorably refused; the Church continued its implacable warfare with the dead. The faithful Bishop of Liège, Otbert, conveyed the body of his sovereign in decent pomp to the church of St. Lambert. His nobler partisans had dispersed on all sides; but more true mourners, widows, orphans, the whole people crowded around as though they had lost a father; they wept, they kissed his bountiful hands, they embraced his cold body; they would scarcely permit it to be let down into the grave. Nor was this mere transient sorrow; they kept watch round the sepulchre, and wept and prayed for the soul of their deceased benefactor.[k]

Nevertheless, haughtily regardless of this better testimony to the Christian virtues of the Emperor than all their solemn services, the bishops of the adverse party declared that he who was excommunicate in life was excommunicate in death. Otbert was compelled, as a penance for his precipitate act of gratitude and love, to disinter the body, which was placed in an unconsecrated building in an island on the Moselle. No sacred ceremonial was permitted; a single monk, just returned from Jerusalem, had the pious boldness to sing psalms beside it day and night. It was at length, by his son's permission, conveyed to Spires with a small attendance

[k] Even Dodechin writes: "Enim-vero ut de eo omnia loquar, erat valde misericors." Having given an instance of his mercy, that he was "valde compatiens et misericors in eleemosynis pauperum."—Apud Struvium, p. 677.

of faithful servants. It was received by the people, and even the clergy, with great honour and conveyed to the cathedral. At this the implacable bishop was seized with indignation; he imposed penance on all who had attended the procession, he prohibited the funeral service, and ordered the body to be placed in an unconsecrated chapel within the cathedral. The better Christianity of the people again rebuked the relentlessness of the bishop. They reminded him how the munificent Emperor had enriched the church of Spires; they recounted the ornaments of gold and silver and precious stones, the silken vestments, the works of art, the golden altar-table, richly wrought, a present of the eastern Emperor Alexius, which had made their cathedral the most gorgeous and famous in Germany. They loudly expressed their grief and dissatisfaction, and were hardly restrained from tumult. But they prevailed not. Yet the bier of Henry was still visited by unbought and unfeigning witnesses to his still more Christian oblations, his boundless charities. At length after five years of obstinate contention Henry was permitted to repose in the consecrated vault with his imperial ancestors.

CHAPTER II.

Henry V. and Pope Paschal II.

If it were ever unpresumptuous to trace the retributive justice of God in the destiny of one man, it might be acknowledged in the humiliation of Pope Paschal II. by the Emperor Henry V. The Pope, by his continual sanction, if not by direct advice, had trained the young Emperor in his inordinate ambition and his unscrupulous avidity for power. He had not rebuked his shameless perfidy or his revolting cruelty; he had absolved him from thrice-sworn oaths; he had released him from the great irrepealable obligations of nature and the divine law. A rebel against his sovereign and his father was not likely, against his own interests or passions, to be a dutiful son or subject of his mother the Church, or of his spiritual superiors. If Paschal suffered the result of his own lessons, if he was driven from his capital, exposed to personal sufferings so great and menacing as to compel him to submit to the hardest terms which the Emperor chose to dictate, he had not much right to compassion. Paschal is almost the only later Pope who was reduced to the degrading necessity of being disclaimed by the clergy, of being forced to retract his own impeccable decrees, of being taunted in his own day with heresy, and abandoned as a feeble traitor to the rights of the Church by the dexterous and unscrupulous apologists of almost every act of the Papal See.

Hardly was Henry V. in peaceful possession of his

father's throne when the dispute about the investitures was unavoidably renewed. The humble ally of the Church was not more inclined to concede the claims of the Teutonic sovereign than his contumacious and excommunicated father. The implacable enmity with which the Pope had pursued the older Emperor turned immediately against himself. Instead of an adversary weary of strife, worn out with premature old age, under the ignominy not only of his former humiliation at the feet of Hildebrand, but of his recent expulsion from Italy, and with almost the whole of Germany in open arms or leagued by discontent against him, Paschal had raised up an antagonist, a youth of unrivalled activity and unbridled ambition, flushed with the success of his rebellion, holding that authority over the princes of the Empire which sprang from their common engagement in a daring and unjustifiable cause, unencumbered with the guilt of having appointed the intrusive prelates, who held their sees without the papal sanction, yet sure of their support if he would maintain them in their dignities. The Empire had thus become far more formidable; and unless it would humbly cede all the contested rights (at such a time and under such a king an event most improbable) far more hostile.

Pope Paschal held a synod chiefly of Lombard bishops at Guastalla.[a] The first act was to revenge the dignity of Rome against the rival see of Ravenna, which for a century had set up an Antipope. Already, jealous no doubt of the miracles reported by his followers to be wrought at his tomb, Paschal had commanded the body of Guibert to be taken up from its sepulchre and cast into the Tiber. The metropolitan

Synod of Guastalla.

[a] Labbe et Mansi, Concil. sub ann. 1106, Oct. 18.

see of Ravenna was punished by depriving it of the province Æmilia, and its superiority over the bishoprics of Piacenza, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna. A prudent decree, which expressed profound sorrow for the divisions in Germany, acknowledged the titles of all those prelates who had been consecrated during the schism and had received the imperial investiture, in fact of the whole episcopacy with few exceptions, in the Empire. Those alone who were usurpers, Simoniacs, or men of criminal character, were excluded from this act of amnesty. But another decree condemned the investiture by lay hands in the strongest terms, deposed the prelates who should hereafter admit, and excommunicated the laymen who should dare to exercise this authority. Ambassadors from the young Emperor, the Bishops of Treves and Halberstadt, courteously solicited the presence of Paschal in Germany. They proposed a council to be held at Augsburg to arrange definitively the ecclesiastical affairs of the Empire, at the same time expressing their hope that the Pope would fully concede all the rights of the Empire, an ambiguous phrase full of dangerous meaning![b]

The Pope acceded to the request, but the Emperor and the princes of the Empire held their Christmas at Augsburg, vainly awaiting his arrival. The Pope had advanced as far as Verona; a tumult in that city shook his confidence in the commanding sanctity of his presence. His more prudent counsellors suggested the unconquerable determination of the Germans to maintain the right of investiture, and the danger of placing himself in the power of a prince at once so daring and

[b] "Quærens, ut jus sibi regni
Concedat, sedi sanctæ cupit ipse fidelis
Esse velut matri, subici sibi vel quasi patri."—DONIZO

perfidious.[c] He would be more safe in the friendly territory and under the less doubtful protection of the King of France. The acts of Henry might justify this mistrust. The king proceeded at once to invest the Bishops of Verdun and Halberstadt, and commanded the Archbishop of Treves to consecrate them; he reinstated the Bishop Udo, who had been deposed by the Pope, in the see of Hildesheim; he forced an abbot who was actually under an interdict in the monastery of St. Tron to violate his suspension. The Papal clergy throughout Germany quailed before these vigorous measures. So utterly were they prostrated that Gebhard of Constance, Oderic of Passau, under the specious pretence of avoiding all communion with the excommunicate, had determined to engage in a foreign pilgrimage. Paschal entreats them to remain as shining lights, and not to leave Germany a land of utter darkness.[d]

The tone of Henry's ambassadors, before a Council held by Pope Paschal at Troyes,[e] in Champagne, was as haughty and unyielding. He demanded his full privilege of electing bishops, granted, according to his assertion, by the Pope to Charlemagne.[f] He would not condescend to permit questions which related to the German Empire to be agitated in a foreign country, in France. At Rome this great cause should be decided; and a year's truce was mutually agreed upon, to allow the Emperor to make his appearance in that city.

It was not, however, till the third year after this truce

[c] Chronicon Ursbergense, sub ann. 1107.

[d] Epist. Gebhard. Constant., &c. "Et in medio nationis pravæ et perversæ tanquam luminaria lucere studeant."—Oct. 27, 1106.

[e] May 23, 1107. The Archbishop of Mentz, Rothard, refused to be present at Troyes.

[f] Chronicon Ursbergense, sub ann. 1107.

that Henry descended into Italy. These years were occupied by wars in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. Though not always or eventually successful, the valour and determination of Henry, as well as his unscrupulous use of treachery when force failed, strengthened the general dread of his power and his ambition.

Diet at Ratisbon. A.D. 1110.

In a great Diet at Ratisbon on the Feast of the Epiphany, A.D. 1110, the Emperor announced his intention of proceeding to Rome—I. For his coronation; the Pope had already expressed to the King's ambassadors his willingness to perform that ceremony, if Henry would declare himself a faithful son and protector of the Church. II. To re-establish order in Italy. The Lombard Republics had now begun to assert their own freedom, and to wage furious battle against the freedom of their neighbours. Almost every city was at war with another; Milan with Lodi, Pavia with Tortona, Pisa with Lucca. III. To take measures for the protection of the Church in strict obedience to the Pope.[s] He delayed only to celebrate his betrothal with Matilda, the Infant daughter of Henry I. of England.

Henry's army.

The summons was obeyed in every part of the Empire. Above 30,000 knights, with their attendants, and the infantry, assembled under the Imperial banner, the most formidable army which for some centuries had descended from the Alps; and to be increased by the Italian partisans of the Emperor. Large contributions were made to defray the expenses of the expedition. In order to cope with the papal party, not in arms only, but likewise in argument, he was attended by the most learned of the Transalpine

[s] "Ad nutum patris apostolici."

ecclesiastical scholars, ready to do theological battle in his cause.[h] Though an angry comet glared in the heavens, yet the Empire seemed to adopt with eager loyalty this invasion of Italy.

The first act of Henry struck terror into all minds. With a considerable division of the army, the Emperor himself descended from Savoy upon Ivrea, and reached Vercelli. Novara presumed to resist. The unfortunate town was given up to the flames, its walls razed to the ground. All the other cities of Lombardy, appalled by this example, sent their plate and large contributions in money to the Emperor. The haughty and populous Milan alone refused this mark of subjection.[i] The other division of the army had descended by the valley of Trent; the united forces assembled in the plains of Roncaglia, near Piacenza. The proud and politic Matilda had entertained the Imperial ambassadors on their return from Rome with friendly courtesy. The Emperor knew too well her importance not to attempt to gain her neutrality, if not her support; she was too prudent to offend a warlike sovereign at the head of such a force. She swore allegiance, and promised fealty against all enemies except the Pope. Henry confirmed her in all her possessions and privileges.

Henry in Italy.

The army advanced, but suffered great losses both of horses and men from continued heavy rains in the passes of the Apennines. The strong fortress of Pontremoli followed the example and shared the fate of

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[h] His chaplain, David the Scot, was to be the historian of the expedition. His work is lost, but was used by the author of the Chronicon Ursbergense, and by William of Malmesbury.

[i] "Aurea vasa sibi, necnon argentea misit
Plurima, cum multis urbs omnis de-
[illegible]que nummis.
N[illegible]lis urbs solum Mediolanum
[illegible]pulosa
N[illegible] servivit ei, nummum neque con
tulit æris" - Donizo.

Novara. At Florence Henry held his Christmas, and compelled Pisa and Lucca to make a treaty of peace. Such an army as Henry's was not likely to be restrained by severe discipline, nor was Henry likely to enforce discipline, unless from policy. Of many cities he gained possession by delusive offers of peace. No person or property was treated with respect; churches were destroyed: religious men seized and plundered, or expelled from their monasteries. In Arezzo Henry took the part of the clergy against the people, levelled the walls and fortifications, and destroyed great part of the city.[k]

And still his march continued, unresisted and unchecked, towards Rome. He advanced to Aquapendente, to Sutri. There the Pope, utterly defenceless, awaited this terrible visit. He had endeavoured to prevail on his vassals, the Norman princes of Calabria and Apulia, to succour him in the hour of need; not a knight obeyed his summons.

Henry advances on Rome.

From the ruins of Arezzo Henry had sent forward an embassy—the Chancellor Albert, Count Godfrey of Calw, and other nobles, to negotiate with the Pontiff. Peter, the son of Leo, a man of Jewish descent, once a partisan of the Antipope Guibert, now a firm supporter of the Pope, who had extraordinary influence over the people of Rome, was called in to assist the Cardinals in their council. The dispute seemed hopelessly irreconcileable. The Pope could not cede the right of investiture, which his predecessors and himself in every Council, at Guastalla, at Troyes, still later at Benevento, and in the Lateran,[m] had declared to be a sacrilegious usurpation. Such an Emperor, at

[k] Annalist. Saxo., sub ann. 1111.

[m] At Benevento, Oct. 1008; in the Lateran, 1110, March 7. Annalist Saxo. apud Pertz. vi. 748. Annal. Hildesheim., ibid. iii. 112.

the head of an irresistible army, was not likely to abandon a right exercised by his ancestors in the Empire since the days of Charlemagne.

To the amazement and indignation of that age, and to the wonder of posterity,[n] the plain principles of right and equity began to make themselves heard. If the clergy would persist in holding large temporalities, they must hold them liable to the obligations and subordinate to the authority of the State. But if they would surrender all these fiefs, royalties, privileges, and immunities, by which they were perpetually embroiled in secular concerns, and return into their purely ecclesiastical functions, all interference of the State with the consecration of bishops became a manifest invasion on the Church. The Church must content herself with her tithes and offerings; so the clergy would be relieved from those abuses inseparable from vast temporal possessions, and in Germany in general so flagrantly injurious to the sacred character. Through their vast territorial domains, bishops and abbots were not only compelled to perpetual attendance in the civil courts, but even bound to military service, by which they could scarcely escape being partakers in rapine, sacrilege, incendiarism, and homicide. The ministers of the altar had become ministers of the court. Out of this arose the so branded monstrous claim of the right of investiture, which had been justly condemned by Gregory and by Urban. Remove the cause of the evil, the evil would cease.[o]

[n] "Anche oggidì si ha pena a credere, che un pontifice arrivassi a promettere una si smisurata concessione."—Muratori, Ann. d' Italia, sub ann. 1111.

[o] The Emperor recites the letter of Paschal. "In vestri autem regni partibus episcopi vel abbates adeo curis secularibus occupantur, ut comitatum assiduè frequentare, et militiam exercere cogantur, quæ nimirum aut vix aut nullo modo sine rapinis, sacrilegiis

Pope Paschal, either in his fear, and in the consciousness of his desperate and helpless position,[p] or from some secret conviction that this was the real interest of the Church, as well as the most Christian course; or anticipating the unconquerable resistance of the clergy, which would release him from the fulfilment of his part of the treaty, and throw the whole prelacy and clergy on his side, suddenly acquiesced in this basis for the treaty.[q] The Church surrendered all the possessions and all the royalties which it had received of the Empire and of the kingdom of Italy from the days of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and Henry I.; all the cities, duchies, marquisates, countships, rights of coining money, customs, tolls, advocacies,[r] rights of raising soldiers, courts and castles, held of the Empire. The King, on his part, gave up the now vain and unmeaning form of Investiture.[s]

Feb. 12, 1111.

The treaty was concluded in the porch of St. Peter's Church, it might seem, in the actual presence of the Apostle. The King pledged himself on the day of his coronation, in the sight of the clergy and the people, to grant the investiture of all the churches. The Pope, at the same time, was to confirm by an oath the surrender of all the royalties held by the

Treaty.

incendiis, aut homicidiis exhibitur. *Ministri vero altaris, ministri curiæ facti sunt, quia civitates, ducatus, marchionatus, monetas, turres, et cætera, ad regni servitium pertinentia a regibus acceperunt.*"—Dodechin apud Struvium, p. 669.

[p] He had already congratulated Henry, "quod patris nequitiam abhorreret." Paschal had been perplexed to show what wickedness of his father, as regards the Church, Henry abhorred. —Chron. Casin.

[q] There is much which is contradictory in the statements. According to the writer of the Chronicon Casinense, the treaty was concluded while Henry was still at Florence by Peter Leonis on the side of the Pope, and the ambassadors of Henry.

[r] "Advocatias regum, jura centurionum."

[s] The first convention in Pertz, Leg ii. 68. Eccard, ii. 270.

Church. On one point alone the Pope was inflexible. Henry entreated permission to bury his father in consecrated ground. The Pope, who had already significantly reminded Henry that he had acknowledged and professed to abhor the wickedness of his father, infamous throughout the world, declared that the Martyrs sternly exacted the expulsion of that guilty man from their churches; they would hold no communion in death with him who died out of communion with the Church.[t]

The King pressed this point no further; but he consented to swear never hereafter to intermeddle in the investiture of the churches, which clearly did not belong to the Empire, or to disturb them in the free possession of oblations or property. He was to restore and maintain to the Holy See the patrimony of St. Peter, as it had been granted by Pepin, by Charlemagne, and by Louis. He was to pledge himself neither in word nor thought to injure either in life or limb, or by imprisonment by himself or others, the Pope or any of his adherents, by name Peter, the son of Leo, or his sons, who were to be hostages for the Pope. All the great princes of the Empire, among them Frederick Prince of Swabia and the Chancellor Albert, were to guarantee by oath the fulfilment of the treaty. Both sides gave hostages: the Emperor his nephew Frederick of Swabia, Bruno Bishop of Spires, and three others; the Pope the sons or kindred of Peter, the son of Leo. The Pope not only consented on these terms to perform the rite of coronation, he also pledged himself never hereafter to

[t] "Hostis enim nequitiam, toto jam sæculo diffamatam, et interius cognosceret, et gravius abhorreret. . . . Ipsos etiam Dei Martyres jam in cœlestibus positos id terribiliter exegisse sciret, ut sceleratorum cadavera de suis Basilicis pellerentur, ut quibus viventibus non communicamus, nec mortuis communicare possumus." — Chron. Casin., cap. xxxvi.

disturb the Emperor or the Empire on these questions; to bind his successors by an anathema not to presume to break this treaty. And Peter the son of Leo pledged himself, if the Pope should fail in his part of the contract, to espouse the cause of the Emperor, and to be his faithful vassal.

Such was the solemn compact between the two great Powers of Latin Christendom. The oaths may still be read with which it was ratified by the contracting parties.[u]

On Saturday, the 11th of February, Henry appeared on the Monte Mario. A deputation from the city met him, and required his oath to respect the liberties of Rome. Henry, perhaps from ignorance of the language, replied in German; a suspicion of treachery arose; the Romans withdrew in deep but silent mistrust. The hostages were exchanged on each side; Henry ratified his compact, and guaranteed to the Pope, besides the patrimony of St. Peter, that which belonged to neither, Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and the principality of Capua.

Procession to St. Peter's.

The next day (Sunday) a magnificent procession of the authorities and of the people, under their different banners, escorted the King into the city. The standards of the old Republic and the new religion were mingled together. The torchbearers, the bearers of the Cross, the Eagles, the banners emblazoned with the Lion, the Wolf, and the Dragon.[x] The people strewed flowers and palm-branches; all the guilds and schools marched in their array. According to usage, at two different places the Emperor took the oath to protect and maintain the franchises of the people. The Jews before the gate of the Leonine City, the Greeks in

[u] Apud Pertz. Mansi, sub ann.

[x] Annalista Saxo.

the gate itself, the whole people as he passed through the streets, welcomed him with songs and hymns and all royal honours. He dismounted from his horse, ascended the steps of St. Peter's, approached the Pope, who was encircled by the cardinals, by many bishops, by the whole clergy and choir of the Church.[y] He kissed first the feet, and then the mouth of the Pontiff; they embraced three times, and three times in honour of the Trinity exchanged the holy kiss on the forehead, the eyes, and the lips. All without was the smoothest and most cordial harmony, but within there was profound misgiving. Henry had demanded that the gates and towers of the Vatican should be occupied by his soldiery.

The King took the right hand of the Pope; the people rent the air with acclamations. The King made his solemn declaration to observe the treaty; the Pope declared him Emperor, and again the Pope bestowed the kiss of peace. They now took their seats within the porphyry chancel.

Henry Emperor.

But after all this solemn negotiation, this imposing preparation, which would trust the other? which would first venture to make the full, the irrevocable concession? The character of Henry justifies the darkest suspicion of his treachery, but the Pope must by this time have known that the Church would never permit him to ratify the rash and prodigal concession to which he was pledged so solemnly. All the more lofty Churchmen had heard with amazement that the successor of Hildebrand and of Urban had surrendered at once half

[y] The Chron. Casin. makes Henry mount his horse again, and as it should seem ride up the steps, for he dismounts again to greet the Pope. This is not unimportant, as the monk makes Henry hold the Pope's stirrup (stratoris officium exhibuit). But was the Pope on horseback?

of the dignity, more than half of the power, the independence, perhaps the wealth of the Church. The Cardinals, no doubt, as appointed by the late Popes, were mostly high Hildebrandines. Many of the Lombard bishops held rights and privileges in the cities which would have been at the least emperilled by this unlimited surrender of all royalties. But the blow was heaviest on the Transalpine prelates. The great prince bishops of Germany ceased at once to be princes; they became but bishops. They were to yield up all their pomp, all their vast temporal power. It was the avowed design to banish them from the camp, the council, and the court, and to confine them to the cathedral. They were no longer, as holding the most magnificent imperial fiefs, to rank with the counts, and dukes, and princes; to take the lead at the Diet; to grant or to withhold their contingent of armed men for service under the Imperial banner; to ride abroad with a splendid retinue; to build not only sumptuous palaces but strong castles; to be the great justiciaries in their cities, to levy tolls, appoint markets and havens. Their sole occupation henceforth was to be their spiritual cure, the services in their churches, the superintendence of their dioceses: the clergy were to be their only vassals, their honour only that which they might command by their sacerdotal character, their influence that only of the chief spiritual pastor within their sees. The Pope might seem deliberately and treacherously to sacrifice all the higher ecclesiastics, to strip them remorselessly of all those accessories of outward show and temporal influence (some of the better prelates might regret the loss of that power, as disabling them from the protection of the poor against the rich, of the oppressed against the oppressor): at the same time he

secured himself: to him the patrimony of St. Peter was to be confirmed in its utmost amplitude. He, and he only, was still to be independent of the tithes and oblations of the faithful; to be a sovereign, at least with all the real powers of a sovereign.

They sat, then, the Emperor and the Pope, watching each other's movements; each determined not to commit himself by some hasty word or act. The object of each was to throw upon the other the shame and obloquy of the violation of contract. Their historians have faithfully inherited their mistrust and suspicion, and cast the blame of the inevitable breach on either of the irreconcileable parties. Henry indeed is his own historian, and asserts the whole to have been a stratagem on the part of the Pope to induce him to abandon the claim to the investiture. And no doubt the advantage was so clearly on the side of the king that even some of his own seemingly most ardent adherents might dread, and might endeavour to interrupt, a treaty which threw such immense power into his hands. Not merely was he relieved from the salutary check of the ecclesiastical feudatories, but some of the superior nobles becoming his vassals, holding directly of the Emperor instead of intermediately of the Church, were less safe from tyranny and oppression. On the other hand, it is asserted that Henry had determined never to concede the investiture—that this was one more added to his acts of perfidy and falsehood.[a]

At length the king withdrew into a private chamber to consult with his nobles and his prelates: among these were three Lombard bishops, of Parma, Reggio,

[a] Annal. Roman., p. 474: Eccard, Chron.; Annal. Hildesheim., 1111 Pandulf. Pisan.; Chron. Casin.

and Piacenza. His principal adviser was the Chancellor Albert, afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, a man of daring and ambition: of the secrets of this council nothing transpired.

Time wore away. The Transalpine prelates, to remonstrate (no doubt their remonstrance deepened into expostulation, into menace), threw themselves at the feet of the Pope. Paschal, if credit is to be given to the most full and distinct account, still held the lofty religious doctrine that all should be surrendered to Cæsar which belonged to Cæsar, that the clergy should stand altogether aloof from temporal concerns.[a] This doctrine, it might have been supposed, would have been most acceptable to the ears of Cæsar, who had now resumed his place. But instead of the calm ratification of the treaty, the assembly became more and more tumultuous. Loud voices clamoured that the treaty could not be fulfilled.[b] A partisan of Henry exclaimed, "What need of this dispute? Our Emperor shall receive the crown as it was received by Charlemagne, by Pepin, and by Louis!" The Pope refused to proceed to the ceremony. As it grew later he proposed to adjourn the meeting. The Imperialists, as the strife grew more hot, took measures to prevent the Pope from leaving the church until he should have performed the coronation. He and the clergy were surrounded by files of soldiers; they were scarcely allowed approach to the altar to provide the elements for the Eucharist or to celebrate the mass. After that mass they again sat under guard before the Confessional of St. Peter, and only at nightfall were permitted, under

[a] Chronic. Casin.

[b] The monk of Monte Casino would persuade us that this was a cry treacherously got up by the *partisans* of Henry; probably the loudest remonstrants were Transalpines.

the same strict custody, to retire into an adjacent building. Acts of violence were committed; some of the attendant boys and even the clergy were beaten and stripped of their vestments: two bishops, John of Tusculum and Leo of Ostia, made their escape in disguise.

The populace of Rome, as soon as they heard of the imprisonment of the Pope, indignant at his treatment, or at least hating the Germans, who had already given much cause for suspicion and animosity, rose in furious insurrection. They slew all the unarmed Teutons who had come up to the city for devotion or for trade. The next day they crossed the Tiber, attacked the army without the walls, and, flushed with some success, turned upon the Emperor and his troops, which occupied St. Peter's: they almost got possession of the porch of the church. The Emperor, who had mounted his horse half armed, and charged into the fray, having transfixed five Romans with his lance, was thrown from his horse and wounded in the face. A devoted adherent, Otho, a Milanese count, gave the Emperor his horse, but was himself taken prisoner, carried into the streets and torn limb from limb: his flesh was thrown to the dogs. The Emperor shouted to his knights in a tone of bitter reproach, "Will ye leave your Emperor to be murdered by the Romans?" The chivalrous spirit kindled at his voice; the troops rallied; the battle lasted till nightfall, when the Romans, having plundered the dead, turned back towards the city with their booty. But the Imperialists had now recovered from their surprise, charged the retreating enemy, and slaughtered a great number, who would not abandon their plunder to save their lives. The castle of St. Angelo alone, which was in the power of the Romans,

checked the Germans and protected the passage of the river.

All that night the warlike Bishop of Tusculum [c] harangued the Romans, and exhorted them to rescue the Pope and the cardinals from the hands of their ungodly enemies; he lavished on all sides his offers of absolution. Henry found it prudent after three days to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Rome: his army was on the wrong side of the Tiber, which lay between him and the city. He marched along the Flaminian Way towards Soracte, crossed the Tiber, and afterwards the Anio, and there joined his Italian adherents. On that side of Rome he concentrated his forces and wasted the whole territory. His prisoners, the Pope, the bishops, and the cardinals, were treated with great indignity, the Pope stripped of his robes of state, the clergy bound with ropes. The Pope, with two bishops and four cardinals, were imprisoned in the castle of Treviso; no one of his Roman adherents was permitted to approach him; the other cardinals were confined in the castle of Corcodilo.

Feb. 16.

The indefatigable Bishop of Tusculum showed the utmost energy in keeping up the resistance of the Roman people. But no help could be expected from the Normans. Duke Roger and his brother Bohemond were just dead; the Normans could only hope to protect their own territories against the advance of the Emperor. The Prince of Capua made an attempt to throw 300 men into Rome; at Ferentino he found the Count of Tusculum posted, with other Italian partisans of Henry: his troops returned to Capua.

[c] The Bishop of Tusculum enhances the prowess and success of the Romans. Compare his letter to the Bishop of Alba.—Labbe, p. 775.

Two months passed away.[d] The German army wasted the whole land with merciless cruelty up to the gates of Rome. But still the resolute Paschal refused to acquiesce in the right of investiture or to crown the Emperor. Henry is said, in his wrath, to have threatened to cut off the heads of the Pope and all the cardinals. In vain the weary and now dispirited cardinals urged that he gave up only the investiture of the royalties, not the spiritual powers; in vain they represented the danger of a new schism which might distract the whole Church. The miseries of his Roman subjects at length touched the heart of Paschal; with many tears he exclaimed, "I am compelled, for the deliverance of the Church and for the sake of peace, to yield what I would never have yielded to save my own life."[e]

Near Ponte Mommolo over the Anio, this treaty was ratified. The Pope surrendered to the Emperor the right of investiture over the bishops and abbots of the Empire. He promised to take no revenge for what had passed, more especially he solemnly pledged himself not to anathematise Henry, but to crown him as King, Emperor, and Patrician of Rome, and to render him all due allegiance. The king on his part covenanted to set the Pope, the cardinals, and all his other prisoners at liberty, and not to take them again

April 11, 12.

[d] The rest of February and the whole of March, with some days of April.

[e] "Proponebatur pontifici captivorum calamitates quod amissis liberis et uxoribus domo et patriâ exules durioribus compedibus abducebantur. Proponebatur Ecclesiæ Romanæ desolatio, quæ pene omnes Cardinales amiserat. Proponebatur gravissimum schismatis periculum, quod pene universæ Latinæ ecclesiæ immineret. Victus tandem miseriis filiorum, laborans gravibus suspiriis et gemitibus, et in lacrymis totus effusus ecclesiæ pro liberatione ac pace hoc pati, hoc permittere, quod pro vitâ meâ nullatenus consentirem."—Annal. Roman. p. 475. An Imperialist writer strangely compares the conduct of Henry, in thus extorting the surrender, with Jacob's wrestling for a blessing with the angel.—Chron. Ursbergense, *in loc.* Also Annalista Sax.

into captivity; to make peace with the Romans and all the adherents of the Pope; to maintain the Pope in the possession of his sacred dignity, to restore all the property of which he had been despoiled, and, saving the dignity of the kingdom and of the Empire, to be obedient to the Pope as other Catholic sovereigns to other Catholic Pontiffs of Rome.

Treaty.

The Germans suspected that into the written treaty might furtively be introduced some protest that the Pope was under force. Count Albert Blandrado declared to Paschal that his concession must be unconditional. "If I may not add a written condition," replied the Pope, "I will do it by word." He turned to the Emperor: "So will we fulfil our oath as thou givest assurance that thou wilt fulfil thine." The Emperor could not but assent. Fourteen cardinals and ecclesiastics on the part of the Pope, fourteen princes of the Empire on that of Henry, guaranteed by oath the fulfilment of the treaty. The written compact menaced with the anathema of the Church all who should infringe, or contumaciously persist in infringing, this Imperial privilege. No bishop was to be consecrated till he had received investiture.

The army advanced again to Rome; they crossed the Salarian bridge and entered the Leonine city beyond the Tiber. With closed doors, fearful of some new tumult of the people, the Pope, in the church of St. Peter, performed the office of coronation. Both parties seemed solicitous to array the treaty in the most binding solemnities. That there might appear no compulsion, the Emperor, as soon as he had been crowned, replaced the charter of his privilege in the Pope's hand, and received it a second time, contrary to all usage, from his hands. The mass closed the ceremony; the Pope brake the Host: "As this part of the living body

April 13. Coronation of the Emperor.

of the Lord is severed from the rest, so be he severed from the Church of Christ who shall violate this treaty."

A deputation of the Romans was then permitted to enter the church; they presented the Emperor with the golden diadem, the insignia of the Patriciate and Defensorship of the city of Rome. Yet Henry did not enter, as his predecessors were wont, the unruly city; he withdrew to his camp, having bestowed rich gifts upon the clergy and taken hostages for their fidelity: the Pope passed by the bridge over the Tiber into Rome.

The Emperor returned to Germany, having extorted in one successful campaign that which no power had been able to wring from the more stubborn Hildebrand and Urban. So great was the terror of his name that the devout defender of the Pope and of his supremacy, the Countess Matilda, scrupled not to maintain the most friendly relations with him. She would not indeed leave her secure fortress, but the Emperor condescended to visit her at Bianello; he conversed with her in German, with which, as born in Lorraine, she was familiar, released at her request the Bishops of Parma and Reggio, called her by the endearing name of mother, and invested her in the sovereignty of the province of Liguria.

Dissatisfaction in Rome

It would be unjust to Paschal not to believe him sincere in his desire to maintain this treaty, so publicly made, so solemnly ratified. But he could no more resist the indignation of the clergy than the menaces of the Emperor. The few cardinals who had been imprisoned with him, as his accomplices, feebly defended him; all the rest with one voice called upon him immediately to annul the unholy, the sacrilegious compact; to excommunicate the Emperor who had dared to extort by violence such abandonment of

her rights from the Church. The Pope, who was omnipotent and infallible to advance the authority of the Church, when he would make any concession lost at once his power and infallibility. The leader of the old Hildebrandine party, more papal than the Pope himself, was Bruno, afterwards a saint, then Bishop of Segni and abbot elect of Monte Casino. He addressed the Pope to his face: "They say that I am thine enemy; I am not thine enemy: I owe thee the love and reverence of a father. But it is written, *he who loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.* I love thee, but I love Him more who made both me and thee." He proceeded to denounce the treaty, to arraign the Pope for violation of the apostolic canons, for heresy. "If I do not deprive him of his Abbey," said the Pope in his bitterness, "he will deprive me of the Papacy."[f] The monks of Monte Casino, at the Pope's instigation, chose another abbot; and as the new abbot was supported by arms, Bruno gave up his claims and retired to his bishopric of Segni.

July 5.

The oath which the Pope had taken, and ratified by such awful circumstances, embarrassed the Pope alone. The clergy, who had incurred no danger, and suffered no indignity or distress, taunted him with his weakness, contrasted his pliancy with the nobly obstinate resolution of Hildebrand and of Urban, and exhorted him to an act of perfidy and treason of which he would bear at least the chief guilt and shame. Paschal was sorely beset. He sought for reasons which might justify him to the world and to himself for breaking faith with the Emperor; he found none, except the refusal to surrender certain castles and strongholds in

Embarrassment of the Pope.

[f] Chronic. Casin.

the papal territory, and some vague charges of ill-usage towards the hostages.[g] At one time he threatened to lay down his dignity and to retire as a hermit to the desert island of Pontia. At length the violent and incessant reproaches of the cardinals, and what might seem the general voice of the clergy, overpowered his honour, his conscience, his religion. In a letter to the Archbishop of Vienne, he declared that he had acted only from compulsion, that he had yielded up the right of investiture only to save the liberties of the Church and the city of Rome from total ruin;[h] he declared the whole treaty null and void, condemned it utterly, and confirmed all the strong decrees of Gregory VII. and of Urban II. When this intelligence was communicated to the Emperor, his German nobles were so indignant that the legate, had he not been protected by the Emperor, would hardly have escaped with his life.

But more was necessary than this unauthoritative letter of the wavering Pope to annul this solemn treaty, to reconcile by a decree of the Church the mind of man to this signal breach of faith and disregard of the most sacred oath.

In March (the next year) a council assembled in the Lateran Palace. Almost all the cardinals, whether bishops, priests, or abbots, were present, more than a hundred prelates, almost all from the south of Italy, from the north only the Venetian patriarch, from France the Archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, from Germany none.

March 18, 1112. Lateran Council.

[g] See his letter, apud Eccard, ii. 274 and 275. "Ex quo vobiscum illam, quam nostis, pactionem fecimus, non solum longius positi, sed ipsi etiam qui circa nos sunt, cervicem adversus nos erexerunt, et intestinis bellis viscera nostra collacerant, et multo faciem nostram rubore perfundunt."—Oct. 26, 1111.

[h] Card. Arragon. ap. Muratori.

Equivocation of the Pope.

The Pope, by a subtle subterfuge, endeavoured to reconcile his personal observance with the absolute abrogation of the whole treaty. He protested that, though the Emperor had not kept faith with him, he would keep faith with the Emperor; that he would neither disquiet him on the subject of the investitures, nor utter an anathema against him,[i] though he declared the act of surrender compulsory, and so not obligatory; his sole unadvised act, an evil act which ought by God's will to be corrected. At the same time, with consummate art, he made his profession of faith, for his act had been tainted with the odious name of heresy; he declared his unalterable belief in the Holy Scriptures, in the statutes of the Œcumenic Councils, and, as though of equal obligation with these, in the decrees of his predecessors Gregory and Urban, decrees which asserted lay investitures to be unlawful and impious, and pronounced the layman who should confer, or the churchman who should accept such investiture, actually excommunicate. He left the Council to do that which he feared or scrupled to do. The Council proceeded to its sentence, which unequivocally cancelled and declared void, under pain of excommunication, this privilege, extorted, it was said, by the violence of Henry. The whole assembly with loud acclamations testified their assent, "Amen! Amen! So be it! So be it!"[k]

But Henry was still within the pale of the Church,

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[i] "Ego eum nunquam anathematisabo, et nunquam de investituris inquietabo, porro scriptum illud, quod magnis necessitatibus coactus, non pro vitâ meâ, non pro salute aut gloriâ meâ, sed pro solis ecclesiæ necessitatibus sine fratrum consilio aut subscriptionibus feci, super quo nulla conditione, nulla promissione constringimur!—pravè factum confiteor, et omnino corrigi, domino præstante, desidero."—Cardin. Arragon. *loc. cit.*

[k] "Neque vero dici debet privilegium sed pravilegium."—Labbe et Mansi, sub ann. 1112. Acta Concilii, apud Pertz.

and Paschal refused so flagrantly to violate his oath, to which on this point he had been specifically pledged with the most binding distinctness. The more zealous churchmen determined to take upon themselves this act of holy vengeance. A council assembled at Vienne, under the Archbishop Guido, afterwards Pope Calixtus II. The Emperor condescended to send his ambassadors with letters, received, as he asserted, from the Pope since the decree of the Lateran Council, in which the Pope professed the utmost amity, and his desire of peace. The Council were amazed, but not disturbed or arrested in their violent course. As they considered themselves sanctioned in their meeting by the Pope, they proceeded to their decree. One metropolitan Council took upon itself to excommunicate the Emperor! They declared investiture by lay hands to be a heresy; by the power of the Holy Ghost they annulled the privilege granted by the Pope, as extorted by violence. "Henry the King of the Germans, like another Judas, has betrayed the Pope by kissing his feet, has imprisoned him with the cardinals and other prelates, and has wrung from him by force that most impious and detestable charter; him we excommunicate, anathematise, cast out of the bosom of the Church, till he give full satisfaction." These decrees were sent to the Pope, with a significant menace, which implied great mistrust in his firmness. "If you will confirm these decrees, abstain from all intercourse, and reject all presents from that cruel tyrant, we will be your faithful sons; if not, so God be propitious to us, you will compel us to renounce all subjection and obedience." [m]

Council of Vienne excommunicates the Emperor.

[m] Letter of Archbishop of Vienne, and the account of the Council, apud Labbe et Mansi, A.D. 1112.

To this more than papal power the Pope submitted; he ratified the decree of the Council of Vienne, thus doing by others what he was solemnly sworn not to do himself; allowing what was usually supposed an inferior tribunal to dispense with the oath which he dared not himself retract; by an unworthy sophistry trying to obtain the advantage without the guilt of perjury.[n]

Oct. 20.

But these things were not done without strong remonstrance, and that from the clergy of France. A protest was issued, written by the learned Ivo of Chartres, and adopted by the Archbishop of Sens and his clergy, denying the temporal claim to the investitures to be heresy, and disclaiming all concurrence in these audacious proceedings.[o]

Discontent and revolt of the German prelates.

A good and prudent Emperor might have defied an interdict issued by less than the Pope. But the man who had attained his sovereignty by such violent and unjustifiable means was not likely to exercise it with justice and moderation. He who neither respected the authority nor even the sacred person of his father and Emperor, nor the more sacred person of the Pope, would trample under foot, if in his way the more vulgar rights of vassals or of subjects. Henry condescended indeed to attempt a reconciliation with his father's friends, to efface the memory of his ingratitude by tardy piety. He celebrated with a mockery of splendour the funeral of his father (he had wrung at length the unwilling sanction of the Pope) in the cathedral of Spires; he bestowed munificent endowments and immunities on that church. The city of Worms was rewarded by special privileges for her long-

[n] Mansi. Bouquet, xv. 52.

[o] Apud Labbe et Mansi, sub ann. 1112

tried attachment to the Emperor Henry IV., an attachment which, if it could be transferred, might be equally necessary to his son. For while Henry V. aspired to rule as a despot, he soon discovered that he wanted despotic power; he found that the habit of rebellion, which he had encouraged for his own ends, would be constantly recoiling against himself. His reign was almost one long civil war. Prince after prince, either alienated by his pride or by some violent invasion of their rights, the seizure and sequestration of their fiefs, or interference with their succession, raised the standard of revolt. Instead of reconciling the ecclesiastical princes and prelates by a temperate and generous use of the right of investiture, he betrayed, or was thought to betray, his determination to re-annex as much of the ecclesiastical domains as he could to the Empire. The excommunication was at once a ready justification for the revolt of the great ecclesiastical vassals of the Empire, and a formidable weapon in their hands. From the first his acts had been held in detestation by some of the Transalpine prelates. Gerard, Archbishop of Saltzburg, had openly condemned him; the holy Conrad retired into the desert, where he proclaimed his horror of such deeds. The monks of Hirschau, as their enemies the monks of Laurisheim declared, spoke of the Emperor as an excommunicated heretic. The Archbishop of Cologne almost alone defied the whole force of Henry, repelled his troops, and gradually drew into one party the great body of malcontents. Almost the whole clergy by degrees threw themselves into the papal faction. The Legates of the Pope, of their own authority it is true, and without the express sanction of the Pope, disseminated and even published the act of excommunication in many quarters. It was renewed in

a synod at Beauvais, with the sanction of the metropolitan; it was formally pronounced in the church of St. Geryon at Cologne. The inhabitants of Mentz, though imperialists at heart, rose in insurrection, and compelled the Emperor to release their archbishop Albert, once Henry's most faithful partisan, his counsellor throughout all the strong proceedings against Pope Paschal in Italy, but now having been raised to the German primacy by Henry's influence, his mortal enemy. Albert had been thrown into prison on a charge of high treason; he was worn to a skeleton by his confinement.[p] He became an object of profound compassion to all the enemies of Henry; his bitter and powerful mind devoted itself to revenge. Erlang, Bishop of Wurtzburg, of whose fidelity Henry thought himself secure, was sent to negotiate with the revolted princes and prelates, and fell off at once to the papal party.

Death of Countess Matilda. July 24, 1115.

While half Germany was thus at open war with the Emperor, the death of the great Countess Matilda imperiously required his presence in Italy. If the Pope obtained peaceable possession of her vast inheritance, which by formal instruments she had made over on her death to the Apostolical See, the Pontiff became a kind of king in Italy. The Emperor immediately announced his claim not only to all the Imperial fiefs, to the march of Tuscany, to Mantua and other cities, but to all the allodial and patrimonial inheritance held by the Countess;[q] and thus sprung up

[p] The Pope urged his release; his only fault had been too great love for Henry. "Quantum novimus, quantum *experti sumus*, testimonium fecimus, quia te super omnia diligebat."—Epist. Paschal, apud Eccard, ii. 276. Mansi, sub ann. 1113.

[q] Muratori suggests that the Emperor put forward the claim of the house of Bavaria, insisting that they were settled on Duke Guelf the younger, on his marriage. This claim was acknowledged afterwards by the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

a new subject of irreconcileable strife between the Popes and Emperors. Henry expressed his determination to cross the Alps in the course of the following year.

At Rome the preparations of Henry for his second descent into Italy were heard by some with apprehension, by some with a fierce determination to encounter, or even to provoke his worst hostility in defence of the rights of the Church. Early in the spring which was to behold this descent, a Council was summoned in the Lateran. The clergy waited in jealous impatience, the Hildebrandine party mistrusting the courage of the Pope to defy the Emperor, the more moderate doubting his firmness to resist their more violent brethren. As yet the great momentous question was not proposed. There was first a preliminary one, too important, even in the present state of affairs, not to receive due attention; it related to the Archbishopric of Milan. Grossolano, a man of learning and moderation, had been elected to that metropolitan see; he had taken the cross and gone to the Holy Land. During his absence the clergy of Milan had, on some charge of simoniacal proceeding (he may not have been so austerely opposed as they might wish to the old unextinguished faction of the married clergy), or, as it is alleged, because he had been uncanonically translated from the see of Savona, declared him to have forfeited his see. They proceeded to elect Giordano, represented, by no friendly writer, as a man without education (perhaps of the monastic school) and of no great weight. Giordano had been consecrated by three suffragans: Landolf Bishop of Asti, who attempted to fly, but was brought back and compelled to perform the office; Arialdo Bishop of Genoa; and Mamardo Bishop of Turin. Mamardo hastened to Rome to de-

Lateran Council. March 6, 1116.

A.D. 1112.

mand the metropolitan pall for Giordano. The Archiepiscopate of Milan was of too great dignity and influence not to be secured at any cost for the high party. The Pope abandoned unheard the cause of Grossolano, and sent the pall to Giordano, but he was not to be arrayed in it till he had sworn fidelity to the Pope, and sworn to refuse investiture from the Emperor. For six months Giordano stedfastly declined to receive the pall on these terms. A large part of the people of Milan were still in favour of Grossolano, and seemed determined to proceed to extremities in his favour. The Bishops Azzo of Acqui, and Arderic of Lodi, strong Imperialists, took up the cause of Grossolano. Already was Giordano's determination shaken; when Grossolano, on his return from the Holy Land, having found his see occupied, nevertheless entered Milan. His partisans seized the towers of the Roman Gate; Giordano at once submitted to the Papal terms; and, arrayed in the pall, proclaimed himself Archbishop on the authority of the Pope. After some strife, and not without bloodshed of the people, and even of the nobles, Grossolano was driven from Milan; he was glad to accept terms of peace, and even pecuniary aid (the exhaustion of his funds may account for his discomfiture), from his rival; he retired first to Piacenza, afterwards to Rome, to submit to the decision of the Pope.[r]

A.D. 1113.

But this great cause was first mooted in the Council of Lateran. There could be no doubt for which Archbishop of Milan—one who had sworn not to accept investiture from the Emperor, or one at least suspected of Imperialist views—it would

A.D. 1116.

[r] Eccard, Chronic. Landulf junior, apud Muratori S. H. T. V. sub ann.

declare. Giordano triumphed; and, whether as part of the price stipulated for the judgement, or in gratitude and bold zeal for the cause which he had espoused, he returned rapidly to Milan. Henry was on the crest of the Alps above him; yet Giordano dared, with the Roman Cardinal John of Cremona, to publish from the pulpit of the principal church the excommunication of the Emperor. Even this affair of Milan, important as it was, had hardly commanded the attention of the Lateran Council. But when, after this had been despatched, some other questions were proposed concerning certain disputes between the Bishops of Pisa and Lucca, they would no longer brook delay, a Bishop sprang up and exclaimed, "What have we to do with these temporal matters, when the highest interests of the Church are in peril?"[s] The Pope arose; he reverted, in few words, to his imprisonment, and to the crimes and cruelties to which the Roman people had been exposed at the time of his concession. "What I did, I did to deliver the Church and people of God from those evils. I did it as a man who am dust and ashes. I confess that I did wrong: I entreat you, offer your prayers to God to pardon me. That writing signed in the camp of the King, justly called an unrighteous decree, I condemn with a perpetual anathema. Be its memory accursed for ever!"[t] The Council shouted their acclamation. The loudest voice was that of Bruno, the Bishop of Segni—"Give thanks to God that our Lord Pope Paschal condemns with his own mouth his unrighteous and heretical decree." In his bitter triumph he added, "He that uttered heresy is a heretic."

March 8.

[s] It was rumoured in Germany that the Council had determined to depose Paschal, if he refused to revoke the Emperor's charter of investiture.

[t] Ursbergensis, and Labbe and Mansi sub ann.

"What!" exclaimed John of Gaeta, "dost thou presume in our presence to call the Roman Pontiff a heretic? What he did was wrong, but it was no heresy." "It was done," said another Bishop, "to deliver the people." The Pope interposed with calm dignity: he commanded silence by his gesture. "Give ear, my brethren; this Church has never yielded to heresy. It has crushed all heresies—Arian, Eutychian, Sabellian, Photinian. For our Lord himself said, in the hour of his Passion, I have prayed for thee, O Peter, that thy faith fail not."

Paschal afraid of his own act.

But the strife was not over. On the following day, Paschal, with his more moderate counsellors, John of Gaeta and Peter the son of Leo, began to enter into negotiations with the Ambassador of Henry, Pontius Abbot of Clugny. The majesty of the Papal presence could not subdue the indignant murmurs of the more Papal party, who insisted on the Church holding all its endowments, whether fiefs of the temporal power or not, absolutely and without control. At length Conon, Cardinal of Præneste, broke out, and demanded whether the Pope acknowledged him to have been his legate in Germany, and would ratify all that he had done as legate. The Pope acknowledged him in these terms: "What you have approved, I have approved; what you have condemned, I have condemned." Conon then declared that he had first in Jerusalem, and afterwards five times, in five councils, in Greece, in Hungary, in Saxony, in Lorraine, in France, excommunicated the Emperor. The same, as appeared from his letters, had been done by the Archbishop at Vienne. That excommunication was now, therefore, confirmed by the Pope, and became his act. A feeble murmur of dissent soon died away; the Pope kept silence

Conon, Cardinal of Præneste.

But Paschal's troubles increased. If the Emperor should again appear before Rome, in indignation at the broken treaty, and, by temperament and habit, little disposed to be scrupulous in his measures against an enemy whom treaties could not bind, his only hope of resistance was in the attachment of the Roman people. That attachment was weakened at this unlucky moment by unforeseen circumstances. The Prefect of Rome died, and Paschal was persuaded to appoint the son of Peter Leonis to that office. The indelible taint of his Jewish descent, and his Jewish wealth, made Peter an object of envy and unpopularity. The vulgar called him a Jew, an usurer—equivalent titles of hatred. The people chose the son of the late Prefect, a boy, and presented him to the Pope for his confirmation. On the Pope's refusal, tumults broke out in all the city; skirmishes took place between the populace and the soldiers of the Pope during the Holy Week. The young Prefect was taken in the country by the Pope's soldiers, and rescued by his uncle, the Count Ptolemy. The contest thus spread into the country. The whole territory of Rome, the coast, Rome itself, was in open rebellion. The Pope was so alarmed that he retired to Sezza. The populace revenged themselves on the houses of Peter Leonis and those of his adherents.

The Emperor had passed the Alps; he was received in Venice by the Doge Ordelaffo Faliero with loyal magnificence. Some of the other great cities of Lombardy followed the example. The Emperor had taken peaceable possession of the territories of the Countess Matilda: neither then, nor during his lifetime, did the Pope or his successors contest his title. Italy could not but await with anxious apprehension the crisis of this second, perhaps

March 29.

Henry in Italy. April 3.

personal strife between the Emperor and the Pope. But the year passed away without any attack on Rome. The Emperor was engaged in the affairs of Tuscany; the Pope by the rebellion of Rome. Early in the following year terrible convulsions of nature seemed to portend dire calamities. Earthquakes shook Venice, Verona, Parma, and Cremona; the Cathedral of Cremona, with many churches and stately buildings, were in ruins, and many lives lost. Awful storms seemed to join with civil commotions to distract and desolate Germany.

The Ambassadors of Henry, the Bishops of Asti, Piacenza, and Acqui, appeared at Rome, to which Paschal had returned after the cessation of the civil commotions, with a public declaration, that if any one should accuse the Emperor of having violated his part of the treaty with the Pope, he was ready to justify himself, and if guilty, to give satisfaction. He demanded the abrogation of the interdict. The Pope, it is said, with the concurrence of the Cardinals, declared that he had not sent the Cardinals Conon and Theodoric to Cologne or to Saxony; that he had given no authority to the Archbishop of Vienne to excommunicate the Emperor; that he had himself pronounced no excommunication; but he could not annul an excommunication pronounced by such dignified ecclesiastics without their consent. A general Council of the Church could alone decide the question. Henry had too many enemies in the Church of Germany as well as Rome to submit to such a tribunal.

A.D. 1117

A second time Henry V. advanced towards Rome, but this second time under very different circumstances. He was no longer the young and successful Emperor with the whole of Germany united

in his cause, and with an army of overwhelming numbers and force at his command. But with his circumstances he had learned to change his policy. He had discovered how to contest Rome with the Pope. He had the Prefect in his pay; he lavished gifts upon the nobles; he established his partisan Ptolemy, the Count of Tusculum, in all the old possessions and rights of that house, so long the tyrant, at one time the awarder, of the Papal tiara, gave him his natural daughter in marriage, and so established a formidable enemy to the Pope and a powerful adherent of the Emperor, within the neighbourhood, within the city itself. There was no opposition to his approach, to his entrance into Rome. He passed through the streets with his Empress, the people received him with acclamations, the clergy alone stood aloof in jealous silence. The Pope had retired, first to Monte Casino, then to Benevento, to implore, but in vain, the aid of the Normans. The Cardinals made an offer of peace if Henry would surrender the right of investiture by the ring and staff; but as on this point the whole imperial authority seemed at that time to depend, the terms were rejected. No one but a foreign prelate,[u] Burdinus, the Archbishop of Braga,[x]

March 16.

[u] The Abbot of Farfa was a strong Imperialist.

[x] Baluzius (Miscellanea, vol. iii.) wrote a life of Burdinus, to vindicate his memory from the sweeping censure of Baronius, with whom an Antipope was always a monster of iniquity. Maurice Bourdin was a Frenchman of the diocese of Limoges. When Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, went to the Council of Clermont, he was struck with the learning and ability of the young French monk, and carried him back with him to Spain. Bourdin became successively Bishop of Coimbra and Archbishop of Braga. While Bishop of Coimbra he went to the Holy Land, and passed three years in the East, in Jerusalem and Constantinople. On his return he was involved in a contest with his patron Bernard, resisting the claims of the archbishopric of Toledo to supremacy over the Metropolitan see of Braga. There is a decree of Pope Paschal favourable to Maurice, acknowledging

who had been Legate of Pope Paschal to Henry, and had been dazzled or won to the Imperial party, could be tempted to officiate in the great Easter ceremony, in which the Emperor was accustomed to take off his crown in the Vatican, to make a procession through the city, and to receive it again from the hands of the Pontiff.[y]

But no steps were taken to approximate the hostile powers. The Emperor remained in undisturbed possession of Rome; the Pope in his safe city of refuge in the south of Italy; from hence he fulminated an excommunication against the Archbishop of Braga. As the summer heats approached, the Emperor retired to the north of Italy.

Jan. 6, 1118. Death of Paschal II.

Paschal was never again master of Rome. In the autumn he fell ill at Anagni, recovered, and early in the following year surprised the Leonine city and the Vatican. But Peter the Prefect and the Count of Tusculum still occupied the strongholds of the city. Paschal died in the Castle of St. Angelo, solemnly commending to the cardinals that firmness in the assertion of the claims of the Church which he alone had not displayed. He died leaving a great lesson to future Pontiffs, that there was no limit to which they might not advance their pretensions for the aggrandisement of the hierarchy, but to retract the least of these pretensions was beyond their otherwise illimitable power.

his jurisdiction over Coimbra. He was at present in Rome, in order, according to Baronius, to supplant his patron Bernard, who had been expelled from his see by Alfonso of Arragon. He was scornfully rejected by Paschal, of whom he became the deadly enemy. This, as Baluzius repeatedly shows, is directly contradicted by the dates; for after this Paschal employed Maurice Bourdin as his Legate to the Emperor.

[y] Henry had been already crowned by Paschal; this second coronation is probably to be explained as in the text; though some writers speak of it as his first coronation. Muratori says that he desired "di farsi coronare di nuovo." —Sub ann. 1017

The Imperialists made no opposition to the burial of Paschal II. in a great mausoleum in the Lateran Church. The Cardinals, in the utmost haste, before the intelligence could reach the Emperor, proceeded to fill the vacant See. John of Gaeta, though he had defended the Pope from the unseemly reproach of St. Bruno, and at one time appeared inclined to negotiate with the Emperor, seems to have commanded the confidence of the high party; he was of noble descent; the counsellor of more than one Pope, and had been a faithful partisan of Pope Urban against the Antipope Guibert; he had adhered in all his distresses to Paschal, and had shared his imprisonment. He was summoned from Morte Casino secretly, and without any notice chosen Pope by the Cardinals and some distinguished Romans, and inaugurated in a Benedictine monastery near the Capitol.

Gelasius II. Jan. 19, 1118.

The news reached the neighbouring house of Cencius Frangipani (this great family henceforward appears mingled in all the contests and intrigues of Rome), a strong partisan of the Emperor. In a sudden access of indignation he broke with his armed followers into the church, seized the Pope by the throat, struck him with his fists, trampled upon him, and dragged him a prisoner and in chains to his own strong house. All the Cardinals were miserably maltreated; the more fortunate took to flight; some were seized and put into irons. But this atrocious act rekindled all the more generous sympathies of the Roman people towards the Pope. Both parties united in his rescue. Peter the Prefect and Peter the son of Leo, the captain of the Norman troops, who had accompanied Paschal to Rome, the Transteverines, and the twelve quarters of the city, assembled under their leaders; they

Seized by the Frangipani. Jan. 24.

marched towards the Capitol and summoned Frangipani to surrender the person of the Pope. Frangipani could not but submit; he threw himself at the Pope's feet and entreated his forgiveness. Mounting a white horse, the Pope rode to the Lateran, surrounded by the banners of the people, and took possession of the papal palace. There he received the submission of the laity and of the clergy. The friends of the new Pope were quietly making arrangements for his ordination as a presbyter (as yet he was but a deacon), and his consecration as Pope. On a sudden, in the night, intelligence arrived that the Emperor had not merely set off from the north of Italy, but was actually in Rome, and master of the portico of St. Peter's. The Pope was concealed for the night in the house of a faithful partisan. In the morning he embarked on the Tiber, but a terrible storm came on; the German soldiers watched the banks of the river, and hurled burning javelins at the vessel. At nightfall, the Germans having withdrawn, the fugitives landed, and the Pope was carried on the shoulders of Cardinal Ugo to the castle of Ardea. The next day the German soldiers appeared again, but the followers of the Pope swearing that he had escaped, they dispersed in search of him. He was again conveyed to the vessel, and after a perilous voyage of four days, reached Gaeta, his native town. There he was ordained Presbyter, and consecrated Pope.

March 1.

March 9.

Henry endeavoured by repeated embassies to persuade Gelasius II., such was the name assumed by the new Pope, to return to Rome; but Gelasius had been a fellow-prisoner with Pope Paschal, and had too much prudence to trust himself in the Emperor's power.[z] He met

[z] Epist. Gelas. II. apud Labbe, Concil. Ann. 1118.

cunning with cunning; he offered to hold a council to decide on all matters in dispute, either in Milan or in Cremona, cities in which the papal interest now prevailed, or which were in open revolt against the Emperor. This proposal was equally offensive to the Emperor and to the Roman people. "What," was the indignant cry, "is Rome to be deserted for Milan or Cremona?" They determined to set up an Antipope; yet none appeared but Burdinus, now called Maurice the Portuguese, the Archbishop of Braga.[a] This stranger was led to the high altar of St. Peter's by the Emperor; and it was thrice proclaimed to the people, "Will ye have Maurice for Pope?" and thrice the people answered, "We will." The Barbarian, as he was called by his adversaries, took the name of Gregory VIII. Of the Roman clergy only three adherents of the old unextinguished Ghibeline party, Romanus Cardinal of St. Marcellus, Cencius of St. Chrysogonus, and Teuzo, who had been long in Denmark, sanctioned this election. He was put in possession of the Lateran palace, and the next day performed the papal functions in St. Peter's.

March 8.

No sooner did Gelasius hear this than he thundered his sentence of excommunication against the perjurer Maurice, who had compelled his mother the Church to public prostitution.[b] Now, however, his Norman vassals, as they acknowledged themselves, William, Duke of Apulia, and Robert, Prince of Capua, obeyed his summons; under their protection he returned towards Rome. Henry, who was besieging the papal castle Toricella, abandoned the siege, and retired on Rome. But almost

[a] The famous Irnerius of Bologna, the restorer of the Roman law, was in Rome; the form of Election was supposed to be regulated by his legal advice.

[b] "Matris Ecclesiæ constupratorem publico."—Gelasii, Epist. ii.

immediately his presence was imperiously required in Germany, and he withdrew to the north of Italy. Thence, leaving the Empress as Regent in Italy, he crossed the Alps. Gelasius had already at Capua involved the Emperor in the common excommunication with the Antipope. Some misunderstanding arose between the Norman princes and the Pope;[c] they withdrew, and he could now only bribe his way back to Rome.

April 7.

Gelasius entered Rome as a pilgrim rather than its master. He was concealed rather than hospitably entertained by Stephen the Norman, by Paschal his brother, and Peter with the ill-sounding name of the Robber, a Corsican.[d] Thus were there again two Popes in the city, one maintained in state by the gold of the Emperor, the other by his own. But Gelasius in an imprudent hour ventured beyond the secure quarters of the Norman. He stole out to celebrate mass in the church of St. Praxede, in a part of the city commanded by the Frangipani. The church was attacked; a scene of fearful confusion followed; the Normans, under the Pope's nephew Crescentius, fought valiantly, and rescued him from the enemy. The Frangipani were furious at their disappointment, but when they found the Pope had escaped, withdrew. "O what a sight," writes a sad eye-witness,[e] "to see the Pope, half clad in his sacred vestments, flying, like a mountebank,[f] as fast as his horse could gallop!"—his cross-bearer followed; he fell; the cross, which it might seem that his enemies sought as a trophy, was picked up and concealed

July 5.

[c] It seemed to relate to the Circæa arx, which the Pope having granted to the people of Terracina, repented of his rashness.—Vit. Gelas.

[d] Latro Corsorum.

[e] See the letter of Bruno of Treves, in Hontheim, Hist. Trevir. Pandulph. Pisan., p. 397.

[f] Sicut scurra.

by a woman. The Pope himself was found, weary, sorrowful, and moaning[g] with grief, in a field near the Church of St. Paul. The next day he declared his resolution to leave this Sodom, this Egypt; it were better to have to deal with one Emperor than with many tyrants. He reached Pisa, Genoa, Marseilles; but he entered France only to die. After visiting several of the great cities of the realm, Montpellier, Avignon, Orange, Valence, Vienne, Lyons, a sudden attack of pleurisy carried him off in the abbey of Clugny.

Jan. 29, 1119. Death of Gelasius.

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[g] His follower says, "ejulans."

CHAPTER III.

Calixtus II.—Concordat of Worms.

The cardinals in France could not hesitate an instant in their choice of his successor. Gelasius had turned his thoughts to the Bishop of Palestrina, but Otho excused himself on account of his feeble health. Exiles from Rome in the cause of the Church, and through the hostility of the Emperor and his partisans, the Conclave saw among them the prelate who had boldly taken the lead in the excommunication of Henry; and who to his zeal for the Church added every other qualification for the supreme Pontificate. Guido, Archbishop of Vienne, was of more than noble, of royal birth, descended from the Kings of Burgundy, and so allied by blood to the Emperor; his reputation was high for piety and the learning of the age. But Guido, either from conscientious scruples, or in politic deference to the dominant opinion, refused to become the Pontiff of Rome without the assent of Rome. Messengers were speedily despatched and speedily returned with the confirmation of his election by the cardinals who remained at Rome, by Peter the son of Leo, by the prefect and consuls, by the clergy and people of Rome. It appears not how this assent was obtained in the presence of the Imperial garrison and the Antipope. Rome may have already become weary or ashamed of her foreign prelate, unconnected with the great families or interests of the city; but it is more probable that it

Calixtus II. Feb. 2, 1119.

was the assent only of the high papal party, who still, under the guidance of Peter the son of Leo, held part of the city.

Germany had furnished a line of pious, and, on the whole, high-minded Pontiffs to the Roman see. Calixtus II., though by no means the first Frenchman, either by birth or education, was the first French Pontiff who established that close connexion between France (the modern kingdom of France as distinguished from the Imperial or German France of Pepin and Charlemagne) and the papacy, which had such important influence on the affairs of the Church and of Europe. From this period, of the two great kingdoms into which the Empire of Charlemagne had resolved itself, the Pope, who succeeded eventually in establishing his title, was usually connected with France, and maintained by the French interest; the Antipope by that of Germany. The anti-Imperialist republics of Italy were the Pope's natural allies against the Imperial power. For a time Innocent III. held his impartial authority over both realms, and acknowledged in turn the king of each country; but as time advanced, the Popes were more under the necessity of leaning on Transalpine aid, until the secession to Avignon almost reduced the chief Pontiff of Christendom to a French prelate.

Calixtus a French Pope.

Christendom could scarcely expect that during the pontificate of so inflexible an assertor of its claims, and during the reign of an Emperor so resolute to maintain his rights, the strife about the Investitures should be brought to a peaceful close with the absolute triumph of neither party, and on principles of mutual concession. Nor was the first attempt at reconciliation, which appeared to end in a more irreparable breach, of favour-

able augury to the establishment of unity. Yet many circumstances combined to bring about this final peace. The removal of the scene of strife into France could not but show that the contest was not absolutely necessary. The quarrel had not spread into France, though the feudal system prevailed there to the same if not greater extent. In France had been found no great difficulty in reconciling the free election of the bishops with their allegiance in temporal concerns to their sovereign. The princes of Germany began to discover that it was a question of the Empire, not of the Emperor. When in revolt, and some of them were always in revolt, the alliance of the clergy, and the popularity which their cause acquired by being upheld against an excommunicated sovereign, had blinded them at first. They were firm allies of the Pope, only because they were implacable enemies of the Emperor. The long controversy had partly wearied, partly exhausted men's minds. Some moderate views by prelates of authority and learning and of undoubted churchmanship had made strong impression. Hildebrand's vast plan of rendering the clergy altogether independent of the temporal power, not merely in their spiritual functions, but in all the possessions which they then held or might hereafter obtain, and thereby becoming the rulers of the world, was perhaps imperfectly understood by some of the most ambitious, and deliberately rejected by some zealous but less worldly ecclesiastics.

At first the aspect of affairs was singularly unpromising; the contending parties seemed to draw together only to repel each other with more hostile violence. The immediate recognition of Calixtus by the great German prelates, not his enemies alone but his adherents also, warned Henry of the new formidable antagonist

arisen in the new Pope. Henry himself, by treating with Calixtus, acknowledged his supremacy, and so abandoned his own unhappy pageant, the Archbishop of Braga, to his fate.

Council of Rheims. Nov. 19, 1119.

Calixtus summoned a council at Rheims, and never did Pope, in Rome itself, in the time of the world's most prostrate submission, make a more imposing display of power, issue his commands with more undoubting confidence to Christendom, receive, like a feudal monarch, the appeals of contending kings; and, if he condescended to negotiate with the Emperor, maintain a loftier position than this first great French Pontiff. The Norman chronicler beheld in this august assembly an image of the day of judgement.[a] The Pope's consistorial throne was placed before the portal of the great church; just below him sate the cardinals, whom the annalist dignifies with the appellation of the Roman Senate. Fifteen archbishops, above two hundred bishops, and numerous abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, were present; Albert of Mentz was attended by seven bishops, and guarded by five hundred armed men.

The first part of the proceedings might seem singularly in accordance with true pacific Christianity. After some canons on simony, some touching lay investitures and the marriage of the clergy, had been enacted in the usual form and spirit, the Pope renewed in the strongest language the Truce of God, which had been proclaimed by Urban II. At certain periods, from the Advent of the Lord to the Octave of the Epiphany; from Quinquagesima to Pentecost, and on certain other fasts and festivals, war was to cease throughout Chris-

[a] Orderic. Vital., i. 726; Mansi, sub ann.

tendom. At all times the Church took under its protection and commanded peace to be observed towards monks and their property, females and their attendants, merchants, *hunters*, and pilgrims. The chaplains in the army were to discountenance plunder under severe penalties. The violators of the Truce of God were to be excommunicated every Sunday in every parish church: unless they made satisfaction, by themselves or by their kindred, were to be held unworthy of Christian burial.[b]

The King of France, Louis the Fat, appeared in person with his barons, and, as before a supreme tribunal, himself preferred his complaint against Henry I. King of England. His complaint related to no ecclesiastical matters; he accused King Henry of refusing the allegiance due from the Duke of Normandy to the King of France, of imprisoning his own brother Robert, the rightful Duke of Normandy, of many acts of hostility and persecution against the subjects of France. Geoffrey, Archbishop of Rouen, rose to defend King Henry. But the fierce tumult which broke out from the more numerous partisans of France compelled him to silence.

Kings of France and England.

After the Countess of Poitou had brought a charge against her husband of deserting her and marrying another wife, there arose a new dispute between the Franks and Normans concerning the bishopric of Evreux. Audoin, the bearded bishop of Evreux, accused Amalric of expelling him from his see, and burning his episcopal palace. The chaplain of Amalric stood up and boldly replied, "It is thine own wickedness, not the injustice of Amalric, which has driven

[b] Labbe, p. 684. Datt. de Treuga Dei in Volum. Rer. German. Ulm, 1698. Ducange in voce "*Treuga*."

thee from thy see and burned thy palace. Amalric, disinherited by the King through thy malignant perfidy, like a true Norman warrior, strong in his own valour and in his friends, won back his honours. Then the King besieged the city, and during the siege the bishop's palace and several of the churches were burned. Let the synod judge between Audoin and Amalric."

The strife between the French and the Normans was hardly appeased by the Pope himself. Calixtus delivered a long address on the blessings of peace, on the evils of war, war alike fatal to human happiness and to religion. But these beautiful and parental sentiments were jealously reserved for the faithful sons of the Church. Where the interests of the Church were involved, war, even civil war, lost all its horrors. The Pope broke off the council for a few days, to meet the Emperor, who had expressed his earnest desire for peace, and had apparently conceded the great point in dispute. It was no doubt thought a great act of condescension as well as of courage in the Pope to advance to meet the Emperor. The character of Henry might justify the worst suspicions. He was found encamped at the head of 30,000 men. The seizure and imprisonment of Paschal was too recent in the remembrance of the Pope's adherents not to excite a reasonable apprehension. Henry had never hesitated at any act of treachery to compass his ends; would he hesitate even on the borders of France? The Pope was safely lodged in the strong castle of Moisson; his commissioners proceeded alone to the conference.

Interview with the Emperor.

Oct. 23, 25.

Their mission was only to give and to receive the final ratification of a treaty, already consigned to writing

Henry had been persuaded, in an interview with the Bishop of Châlons and Abbot Pontius of Clugny, that he might surrender the investiture with the ring and the pastoral staff. That form of investiture (argued the Bishop of Châlons) had never prevailed in France, yet as Bishop he had always discharged all the temporal claims of the sovereign, tribute, military service, tolls, and the other rightful demands of the State, as faithfully as the bishops of Germany, to whose investiture the Emperor was maintaining this right at the price of excommunication. "If this be so," replied the Emperor, with uplifted hands, "I require no more." The Bishop then offered his mediation on the condition that Henry should give up the usage of investitures, surrender the possession of the churches which he still retained, and consent to peace with all his enemies. Henry agreed to these terms, which were signed on the part of the Emperor by the Bishop of Lausanne, the Count Palatine, and other German magnates. The Pope on this intelligence could not but suspect the ready compliance of the Emperor; the Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal Gregory were sent formally to conclude the treaty. They met the Emperor between Metz and Verdun, and drew up the following Concordat: — Henry surrendered the investiture of all churches, made peace with all who had been involved in war for the cause of the Church, promised to restore all the churches which he had in his possession, and to procure the restoration of those which had been granted to others. All ecclesiastical disputes were to be settled by the ecclesiastical laws, the temporal by the temporal judges. The Pope on his side pledged himself to make peace with the Emperor and with all his partisans; to make restitution on his part of everything gained in the

war. These terms by the Pope's orders had been communicated to the Council, first in Latin by the Bishop of Ostia, afterwards explained to the clergy and laity in French by the Bishop of Châlons. It was to ratify this solemn treaty that the Pope had set forth from Rheims; while he remained in the castle of Moisson, the Bishop of Ostia, John Cardinal of Crema, the Bishop of Vivarais, the Bishop of Châlons, and the Abbot of Clugny, began to scrutinise with more severe suspicion the terms of the treaty. They discovered, or thought they discovered, a fraud in the general concession of the investiture of all churches; it did not express the whole possessions of the churches. The Emperor was indignant at this new objection, and strong mutual recrimination passed between him and the Bishop of Châlons. The King demanded time till the next morning to consider and consult his nobles on the subject. But so little did he expect the sudden rupture of the treaty that he began to discuss the form of his absolution. He thought it beneath his dignity to appear with bare feet before the Pope. The legates condescended to this request, provided the absolution were private. The next day the Emperor required further delay, and entreated the Pope to remain over the Sunday. But the Pope declared that he had already condescended too far in leaving a general Council to confer with the Emperor, and returned with the utmost haste to Rheims.

Treaty broken off.

Oct. 26.

At first the conduct of the Pope by no means found universal approval in the council. As the prohibition of the investiture of all churches and ecclesiastical possessions in any manner by lay hands was read, a murmur was heard not merely among the laity, but even among the clergy. It seemed that the Pope would resume all

possessions which at any time might have belonged to the Church, and were now in lay hands; the dispute lasted with great acrimony till the evening. On the morning the Pope made a long speech so persuasive that the whole Council bowed to his authority. He proceeded to the excommunication of the Emperor, which he endeavoured to array in more than usual awfulness. Four hundred and thirty-seven candles were brought and held lighted in the hands of each of the bishops and abbots. The long endless list of the excommunicated was read, of which the chief were Henry the Emperor, and Burdinus the Antipope. The Pope then solemnly absolved from their allegiance all the subjects of the Emperor. When this was over he pronounced his blessing, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and dismissed the Council. After a short time the Pope advanced to Gisors, and had an interview with King Henry of England. Henry boldly justified his seizure of the dukedom of his brother Robert, from the utter incapacity of that prince to administer the affairs of the realm. He had not imprisoned his brother; he had placed him in a royal castle, like a noble pilgrim who was broken with calamities; supplied him with food, and all that might suffice for a pleasant life. The Pope thought it wiser to be content with this hardly specious apology, and gently urged the Norman to make peace with the King of France.[c]

Nov. 20.

Thus acknowledged by the greater part of Christendom, Calixtus II. determined, notwithstanding the unreconciled hostility of the Emperor, to re-occupy his see of Rome. He made a progress through France, distributing

[c] Orderic. Vitalis, l. 2, 13; W. Malmesbury.

everywhere privileges, immunities, dignities; crossed the Alps, and entered Italy by the pass of Susa.[d]

The journey of Calixtus through Italy was a triumphal procession. The Imperialists made no attempt to arrest his march. On his descent of the Alps he was met with loyal deputations from the Lombard cities. Giordano, the Archbishop of Milan, hastened to pay homage to his spiritual sovereign. Landulph, the historian, appeared before the Pope at Tortona to lodge a complaint against the Archbishop for unjustly depriving him of his church. "During the winter we tread not the grapes in the wine-vat," replied Lambert Bishop of Ostia;[e] the Archbishop of Milan, he intimated, was a personage too important to run the risk of his estrangement. Piacenza, Lucca, Pisa, vied with each other in paying honours to the Pope.[f] As he drew near to Rome the Antipope fled and shut himself up in the strong fortress of Sutri. Rome had never received a Pope with greater apparent joy or unanimity. After a short stay Calixtus visited Monte Casino and Benevento. The Duke of Apulia, the Prince of Capua, and the other Norman vassals of the Church hastened to do homage to their liege lord. His royal descent as well as his high spiritual office, gave dignity to the bearing of Calixtus II. He sustained with equal nobleness the part of King and Pope.

At the commencement of the following year he collected an army to besiege the Antipope Gregory VIII. in Sutri. Gregory in vain looked for succour, for rescue, to the Emperor, who had entirely abandoned, it might seem entirely forgotten, his cause. The Cardinal John

[d] Compare the Regesta from Nov. 27, 1119, to March, 1120.

[e] Landulph, jun., c. 35.

[f] He was at Piacenza, April 17; Lucca, early in May; Pisa, May 12; Rome, June 3; Monte Casino, July; Benevento, Aug. 8.

of Crema commanded the papal forces. The Pope himself joined the expedition. Sutri made no determined resistance; and either through fear or bribery the garrison, after eight days, consented to surrender the miserable Gregory. The cruel and unmanly revenge of Calixtus, if it were intended as an awful warning against illegitimate usurpers of the papal power, was a signal failure.[g] The mockery heaped on the unsuccessful Gregory had little effect in deterring future ambitious prelates from setting up as Antipopes. Whenever an Antipope was wanted an Antipope was at hand. Yet degradation and insult could go no further. On a camel instead of a white palfrey, with a bristling hogskin for the scarlet mantle, the Archbishop of Braga was placed with his face towards the rump of the animal, holding the tail for a bridle. In this attire he was compelled to accompany the triumphant procession of the Pope into Rome. He was afterwards dragged about from one convent-prison to another, and died at length so utterly forgotten that the place of his death is doubtful.

Capture and degradation of the Antipope.

April 23, 1121.

The Pope and the Emperor might seem by the sudden rupture of the negotiations at Moisson and the public renewal of the excommunication at Rheims, to be committed to more implacable hostility. But this rupture, instead of alienating still further the German princes from the Emperor, appeared to strengthen his party. His conduct in that affair excited no disapprobation, no new adversaries availed themselves of the Pope's absolution to renounce their allegiance. In the West of the Empire, when he

Affairs of Germany.

[g] "Ut ipse in suâ confunderetur erubescentiâ, et aliis exemplum præberet ne similia ulterius attemptare præsumant."—Cardin. Arragon, in Vit. Callist.

seemed most completely deserted, a sudden turn took place in his affairs. Many of the most powerful princes, even the Archbishop of Cologne, returned at least to doubtful allegiance. Saxony alone remained in rebellion, and in that province Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, having fled from his metropolitan city, was indefatigable in organising the revolt.

Henry, having assembled a powerful army in Alsace, and having expelled the rebellious Bishops of Worms and Spires, marched upon Mentz, which he threatened to besiege as the head-quarters of the rebellion.

Albert, as legate of the Pope, appealed to the religion of the Saxons; he appointed fasts, he ordered public prayers to be offered in all the churches: he advanced at length at the head of an army, powerful enough to cope with that of the Emperor, to the relief of Mentz. The hostile armies of Germany were commanded by the temporal and spiritual head, the Emperor and the Primate: a battle seemed inevitable.

But a strong Teutonic feeling had arisen in both parties, and a disinclination to shed blood in a quarrel between the Church and the Empire, which might be reconciled by their commanding mediation. The more extravagant pretensions of both parties were equally hostile to their interests. It was not the supreme feudal sovereign alone who was injured by the absolute immunity of all ecclesiastical property from feudal claims; every temporal prince had either suffered loss or was in danger of suffering loss by this slow and irrevocable encroachment of the Church. They were jealous that the ecclesiastics should claim exemptions to which they could have no title. On the other hand it could by no means be their desire that the Emperor should fill all the great ecclesiastical sees, the principalities, as some

were, either with his own favourites or sell them to the highest bidder (as some Emperors had been accused of doing, as arbitrary Emperors might do), and so raise a vast and dangerous revenue which, extorted from the Church, might be employed against their civil liberties. Both parties had gradually receded from their extreme claims, and the Pope and the Emperor had made such concessions as, but for mutual suspicion, might at Moisson have led to peace, and had reduced the quarrel almost to a strife of words.

After some negotiation a truce was agreed upon; twelve princes were chosen from each party to draw up the terms of a future treaty, and a Diet of the Empire summoned to meet at Michaelmas in Wurzburg.

The Emperor appeared with his more distinguished followers in Wurzburg, the Saxon army encamped at a short distance. Hostages were exchanged, and, as Wurzburg could not contain the throng, the negotiations were carried on in the plain without the city.

Treaty of Wurzburg.

The Diet had full powers to ratify a peace for the Empire; the terms were simple but comprehensive. The Church and the Empire should each maintain its rights and revenues inviolable; all seized or confiscated property was to be restored to its rightful owner; the rights of each estate of the Empire were to be maintained. An Imperial Edict was to be issued against thieves and robbers, or they were to be dealt with according to the ancient laws; all violence and all disturbance of the peace to be suppressed. The King was to be obedient to the Pope, and with the consent and aid of the princes make peace with him, so that each should quietly possess his own, the Emperor the rights of the Empire, the Pope those of the Church. The bishops lawfully elected and consecrated retained

their sees till the arrival of the Pope in Germany, those of Worms and Spires were to be restored to their dioceses; hostages and prisoners to be liberated on both sides. But the dispute between the Pope and the Emperor concerning the investitures was beyond the powers of the Diet, and the papal excommunication was revocable by the Pope alone. These points therefore were reserved till the Pope should arrive in Germany to hold a General Council. But the Emperor gave the best pledge in his power for his sincerity in seeking reconciliation with the Church. He had granted a general amnesty to the rebellious prelates; he had agreed to restore the expelled Bishops of Worms and Spires. Even Conrad, Archbishop of Saltzburg, who had taken an active part in the war against Henry, had been compelled to fly, and to conceal himself in a cave for a year, returned to his bishopric. On their side the Saxon bishops did not decline to enter into communion with the Emperor; for even the prelates most sternly adverse to Henry did not condescend to notice the papal absolution from their allegiance; it was considered as something which had not taken place.

Notwithstanding an ill-timed dispute concerning the succession to the bishopric of Wurzburg, which led to some hostilities, and threatened at the last hour to break up the amicable settlement, affairs went smoothly on.

Concordat of Worms.

The Pope himself wrote with the earnestness and conciliatory tone of one disposed to peace. He reminded Henry of their consanguinity, and welcomed him as the dutiful son of St. Peter, worthy both as a man and as an Emperor of the more affectionate love and honour of the Holy See, since he had surpassed his later predecessors in obedience to the

Feb. 19, 1122.

Church of Rome. He emphatically disclaimed all intention in the Church to trench on the prerogative of the Empire.[h]

The treaty was framed at Mentz under the auspices of the papal legates, Lambert Bishop of Ostia, Saxo Cardinal of Monte Cælio, and the Cardinal Gregory. It was sealed with the golden seal of the Empire by the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Cologne; it was subscribed by the Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz, the Bishops of Bamberg, Spires, Augsburg, Utrecht, and Constance, and the Abbot of Fulda; by Duke Frederick of Swabia, Henry of Bavaria, the Margraves Boniface and Theobald, the Palsgrave of the Rhine, and some other princes.

So was it ratified at Worms by the papal legate and accepted by the German people.

These were the terms of this important treaty, which were read to the German nation amid loud applauses, and received as the fundamental principles of the Papal and Imperial rights.

The Emperor gives up to God, to St. Peter, and to the Catholic Church, the right of investiture by the ring and the pastoral staff; he grants to the clergy throughout the Empire the right of free election; he restores to the Church of Rome, to all other churches and nobles, the possessions and feudal sovereignties which have been seized during the wars in his father's time and his own, those in his possession immediately, and he promises his influence to obtain restitution of those not in his possession. He grants peace to the Pope and to all his partisans, and pledges himself to protect, whenever he

[h] "Nihil de tuo jure vindicare sibi curat ecclesia; nec regni nec imperii gloriam affectamus; obtineat ecclesia, quod Christi est; habeat Imperator quod suum est.'

shall be thereto summoned, the Church of Rome in all things.

The Pope grants that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his commissioners, only without bribery and violence, with an appeal in cases of contested elections to the metropolitan and provincial bishops. The bishop elect in Germany was to receive, by the touch of the sceptre, all the temporal rights, principalities, and possessions of the see, excepting those which were held immediately of the See of Rome; and faithfully discharge to the Emperor all duties incident to those principalities. In all other parts of the Empire the royalties were to be granted to the bishop consecrated within six months. The Pope grants peace to the Emperor and his adherents, and promises aid and assistance on all lawful occasions.

The treaty was ratified by the most solemn religious ceremony. The papal legate, the Bishop of Ostia, celebrated the mass, administered the Eucharist to the Emperor, declared him to be reconciled with the Holy See, and received him and all his partisans with the kiss of peace into the bosom of the Catholic Church. The Lateran Council ratified this momentous treaty, which became thereby the law of Christendom.

A.D. 1122.

Feb. 27, 1128.

So closed one period of the long strife between the Church and the Empire. The Christendom of our own calmer times, when these questions, excepting among rigid controversialists, are matters of remote history, may wonder that where the principles of justice, dominant at the time, were so plain and simple, and where such slight and equitable concessions on either side set this long quarrel at rest, Germany should be wasted by

civil war, Italy suffer more than one disastrous invasion, one Emperor be reduced to the lowest degradation, more than one Pope be exposed to personal insult and suffering, in short, that such long, bloody, and implacable warfare should lay waste a large part of Europe, on points which admitted such easy adjustment. But, as usual in the collision of great interests, the point in dispute was not the sole, nor even the chief object of the conflict: it was on one part the total independence, and through the independence the complete ascendancy; on the other, if not the absolute subjugation, the secret subservience of the spiritual power; which the more sagacious and ambitious of each party aimed eventually at securing to themselves. Both parties had gradually receded from this remote and unacknowledged purpose, and now contended on open and ostensible ground. The Pope either abandoned as unattainable, or no longer aspired to make the Church absolutely independent both as to election and as to the possession of vast feudal rights without the obligations of feudal obedience to the Empire. In Germany alone the bishops and abbots were sovereign princes of such enormous territorial possessions and exalted rank, that if constant and unswerving subjects and allies of the Pope, they would have kept the Empire in complete subjugation to Rome. But this rival sway had been kept down through the direct influence exercised by the Emperor in the appointment, and his theoretic power at least of withholding the temporalities of the great spiritual fiefs; and the exercise of this power led to monstrous abuses, the secularisation of the Church, the transformation of bishops and abbots to laymen invested in mitres and cowls. The Emperor could not hope to maintain the evils of the old system, the direct appoint-

ment of his creatures, boys or rude soldiers, to those great sees or abbacies; or to sell them and receive in payment some of the estates of the Church, and so to create an unconstitutional and independent revenue. It was even a wiser policy, as concerned his temporal interests, to elevate the order in that decent and imposing character which belonged to their sacred calling —to Teutonise the Teutonic hierarchy.

Indirect influence through the chapters might raise up, if a more free and more respected, yet more loyal race of churchmen; if more independent of the Empire they would likewise be more independent of the Pope; they would be Germans as well as churchmen; become not the sworn, immitigable enemies, but the allies, the bulwarks of the Imperial power. So in the subsequent contest the armies of the Hohenstaufen, at least of Frederick Barbarossa, appear commanded by the great prelates of the Empire; and even Frederick II., if he had been more of a German, less of an Italian sovereign, might, supported by the German hierarchy, have maintained the contest with greater hopes of success.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Bernard and Innocent II.

Calixtus II. had restored peace to Christendom; his strong arm during the latter part of his Pontificate kept even Rome in quiet obedience. He compelled both citizens and strangers to abandon the practice of wearing arms; he levelled some of the strongholds from which the turbulent nobles sallied forth with their lawless followers to disturb the peace of the city, and to interfere in the election of Popes, or to defend some usurping Antipope against the legitimate Bishop of Rome: the tower of Cencius and that of Donna Bona were razed to the ground. But neither Calixtus nor Henry lived to see the effects of the pacification. The death of Calixtus took place a year before that of the Emperor.[a] With Henry V. closed the line of the Franconian Cæsars in Germany; the second family which, since the separation of the dominions of Charlemagne, had handed down the Empire for several generations in regular descent. Of the Franconian Emperors, the first had been the faithful allies of the Papacy; the restorers of the successors of St. Peter to freedom, power, and even sanctity, which they had lost, and seemed in danger of losing for ever, as the slaves and instruments of the wild barons and potentates of Rome and the Romagna. The two later

[a] Death of Calixtus, 1124 (rather Dec. 13 or 14, 1123). The death of Henry, 1125, May 23.—Falco Beneventanus in Chronic.; Pandulphus Pisanus

Kings, the Henrys, had been in perpetual and dangerous conflict with those Pontiffs whom their fathers had reinvested in dignity.

Calixtus had controlled, but not extinguished the Roman factions; they were only gathering strength and animosity to renew the strife for his spoils, to contest the appointment of his successors. Even on the death of Calixtus, a double election, but for the unwonted prudence and moderation[a] of one of the candidates, might have broken out into a new schism, and a new civil war. The Frangipanis were at the head of one faction, Peter the son of Leo of the other. They watched the last hours of the expiring Pontiff with outward signs of agreement, but with the inward determination each to supplant the other by the rapidity of his proceedings. Lambert of Ostia, the legate who had conducted the treaty of pacification in Germany, was the Pope of the Frangipani. Their party had the scarlet robe ready to invest him. While the assembled Bishops in the Church of San Pancrazio had already elected Tebaldo Buccapecco, the Cardinal of Santa Anastasia, and were singing the Te Deum, Robert Frangipani proclaimed Lambert as Pope Elect, amid the acclamations of the people. Happily, however, one was as sincerely humble as the other ambitious.[b] The Cardinal of Santa Anastasia yielded up his claim without hesitation; yet so doubtful did the legality of his election appear to the Pope himself, that, twelve days after, he resigned the Papacy into the hands of the Cardinals, and went through the forms of a new election.

A.D. 1124. Dec. 15, 16.

The Pontificate of Honorius II., during six years, was

[a] Jaffé however says, I think without ground, "Voluntate an coactus abdicaverit, parum liquet."

not marked by any great event, except the accession of the Saxon house to the Imperial throne. Yet the thunders of the Vatican were not silent; his reign is marked by the anathemas which he pronounced, not now against invaders of his ecclesiastical rights and possessions. The temporal interests and the spiritual supremacy of the Popes became more and more identified; all invasion of the actual property of the Pope, or the feudal superiority which he might claim, was held as sacrilege, and punished by the spiritual censure of excommunication. Already the Lateran Council, under Calixtus, had declared that any one who attacked the city of Benevento, being the Pope's (a strong city of refuge, in the south of Italy, either against a hostile Emperor or the turbulent Romans, was of infinite importance to the Pontiff), was under anathema. The feudal sovereignty of the whole South of Italy, which the Popes, on some vague claim as representatives of the Emperors, had appropriated to the Roman See, and which the Normans, holding only by the precarious tenure of conquest, were not inclined to dispute, since it confirmed their own rights, was protected by the same incongruous arms; and not by these arms alone, Honorius himself at times headed the Papal forces in the South.[c] When Roger the Norman laid claim to the succession of William Duke of Apulia, who had died childless, the Pope being unfavourable to his pretensions, he was cut off from the Church of Christ by the same summary sentence.

A.D. 1124-1130. Honorius II.

In Germany all was peace between the Empire and the Papacy. Lothair the Saxon, the faithful head of

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[c] See Chron. Foss. Nov., Falco Beneventan., Romuald. Salernit. for brief notices of the Pope's campaigns. Apud Muratori, G. R. It. vii. Council at Troja, Nov. 11, 1127.

the Papal party, had been elected to the Empire. Honorius, in gratitude for past services, and in prophetic dread of the rising power of the Hohenstaufen, hastened to recognise the Emperor. Lothair, in his humble submission, did not demand the homage of the clergy for their Imperial fiefs.[d] Conrad, the nephew of the deceased King Henry, having attempted to seize the kingdom of Italy, was excommunicated as a rebel against his rightful Sovereign. The humiliation of his rival Frederick of Swabia, and the failure of Conrad, left the Papalising Emperor in his undisturbed supremacy.

April 24, 1128.

The death of Honorius was the signal for a more violent collision between the ruling factions at Rome. They watched the dying Pope with indecent impatience. In secret (it was asserted before the death, certainly on the day of the death and before the funeral of Honorius), a minority of the Cardinals, but those, in their own estimation and in that of their adherents, the most eminent, elected Gregory, the Cardinal of St. Angelo, who took the name of Innocent II.[e] The more numerous party, waiting a more decent and more canonical time for their election, chose the Cardinal Peter Leonis, one of the sons of that Peter who had so long been conspicuous in Roman politics.[f] He called himself Anacletus II. On his side Anacletus had the more canonical election, the majority of the

Feb. 14, 1130. Contested election. Innocent II. Anacletus II.

[d] Jaffé, Lothair, p. 36, &c.

[e] S. Bernard himself admits some irregularity at least in the election of Innocent. "Nam etsi quid minus forte solenniter, et minus ordinabiliter processit, in eâ quæ p ecessit, ut hostes unitatis contendunt." Bernard argues that they ought to have waited the formal examination of this point, and not proceeded to another election. But if the election was irregular and uncanonical, it was null of itself.

[f] On the Peter Leonis compare Hist of the Jews, iii., 329.

Cardinals,[g] the strongest party in Rome. He immediately made overtures to Roger Duke of Sicily, who had been excommunicated by Honorius. The Sicilian espoused at once the cause of Anacletus, in order to deserve the title of King, the aim of his ambition. Thus there was a complete revolution in the parties at Rome. The powerful family of Peter Leonis and the Normans were on the side of the Pope, eventually reputed the Antipope; the Emperor with all Northern Christendom united for the successful, as he was afterwards called, the orthodox Pontiff. The enemies of Leo (Anacletus), who scrupled at no calumny,[h] attributed his success to his powerful connexions of family and of interest. He inherited a vast patrimonial property; he had increased it by a large share in the exactions of the Curia, the Chancery of Rome, of which he had the command, and in legations. These treasures he had carefully hoarded for his great object, the Pontificate. Besides this, he scrupled not, it is said, to convert the sacred wealth of the churches to his use; and when the Christians trembled to break up the silver vessels and crucifixes, he called in the Jews to this unholy work. Thus it is acknowledged that almost all Rome was on his side Rome, won, as his enemies aver, by these guilty and

[g] There were 16 cardinals for Innocent, 32 for Anacletus.—Anonym. apud Baronium, Epist., pp. 191, 192, 196. Other writers, of inferior authority, deny this.

[h] "Qui licet monachus, presbyter, cardinalis esset, scorto conjugatus, monachas, sororem propriam, etiam consanguineas ad instar canis quoquo modo habere potuit, non defecit."—Epist. Mantuin. Episcop. apud Neugart, diplom. Alemanniæ, 63, 64. Yet there seems no doubt that the Epistle of Peter the Cardinal, written by St. Bernard (notwithstanding Mabillon's doubts), was addressed to Anacletus. "Diligimus enim bonam famam vestram, revereemur quam in vobis audivimus circa res Dei sollicitudinem et sinceritatem." Jaffé (p. 89) well observes that it would be fatal to the character of Calixtus II. to have promoted a man of such monstrous dissoluteness to the cardinalate.

sacrilegious means and maintained by the harshest cruelties.[i]

Innocent had in Rome the Frangipanis, a strong minority of the Cardinals, the earlier though questionable election; he had the indelible prejudice against his adversary—his name and descent from a Jew and an usurer.[k] But he obtained before long the support of the Emperor Lothair, of the King of France, of Henry King of England, and, greater than these, of one to whom he owed their faithful aid, who ruled the minds of all these Sovereigns, Bernard, the Abbot of Clairvaux.

For half this century the Pope ceases to be the centre around whom gather the great events of Christian history, from whose heart or from whose mind flow forth the impulses which animate and guide Latin Christendom, towards whom converge the religious thoughts of men. Bernard of Clairvaux, now rising to the height of his power and influence, is at once the leading and

[i] Innocent thus arraigns his rival: "Qui papatum a longis retro temporibus affectaverat, parentum violentiâ, sanguinis effusione, destructione sacrarum imaginum, beati Petri cathedram occupavit et peregrinos ac religiosos quosdam ad apostolorum limina venientes captos, et tetris carceris squaloribus ac ferreis vinculis mancipatos fame, siti, diversisque tormentorum generibus tormentare non desinit."—Pisa, June 20, apud Jaffé, p. 561. On the other hand, Anacletus asserts, "Clerus omnis Romanus individuâ nobis charitate cohæret; præfectus urbis Leo Frangipane cum filio et Cencio Frangipane [this was after the flight of Innocent] et nobiles omnes, et plebs omnis Romana consuetam nobis fidelitatem fecerunt."—Baronius, sub ann. 1130.

[k] In the account of the Council of Rheims by Ordericus Vitalis, we read that Calixtus II. declared his willingness to liberate the son of Peter the son of Leo, whom he had brought with him as one of the hostages of the former treaty with the Emperor. "So saying, he pointed to a dark pale youth, more like a Jew or a Hagarene than a Christian, clothed in rich raiment, but deformed in person. The Franks, who saw him standing by the Pope, mocked him, imprecated disgrace and ruin on his head, from their hatred to his father, whom they knew to be a most unscrupulous usurer." This deformed boy could not be the future Pope, then probably a monk; most likely it was a brother.

the governing head of Christendom. He rules alike the monastic world, in all the multiplying and more severe convents which were springing up in every part of Europe, the councils of temporal sovereigns, and the intellectual developments of the age. He is peopling all these convents with thousands of ardent votaries of every rank and order; he heals the schism in the Papacy; he preaches a new crusade, in which a King and an Emperor lead the armies of the Cross, he is believed by an admiring age to have confuted Abélard himself, and to have repressed the more dangerous doctrines of Arnold of Brescia. His almost worshipping admirers adorn his life with countless miracles; posterity must admit the almost miraculous power with which he was endowed of guiding the minds of men in passive obedience. The happy congeniality of his character, opinions, eloquence, piety, with all the stronger sentiments and passions of the time, will account in great part for his ascendancy; but the man must have been blessed with an amazing native power and greatness, which alone could raise him so high above a world actuated by the same influences.

Bernard did not originate this new outburst of monasticism, which had already made great progress in Germany, and was growing to its height in parts of France. He was a dutiful son rather than one of the parents of that great Cistercian order, which was now commencing its career in all its more attractive seclusion from the world, and its more than primitive austerity of discipline; which in a short time became famous, and through its fame covered France, parts of England, and some other countries, with new monasteries under a more rigorous rule, and compelled some of the old institutions to submit to a harsher discipline. These founda-

tions, after emulating or surpassing the ancient Benedictine brotherhoods in austerity, poverty, obedience, solitude, grew to equal and surpass them in splendour, wealth, and independent power.

It was this wonderful attribute of the monastic system to renew its youth, which was the life of mediæval Christianity; it was ever reverting of itself to the first principles of its constitution. It seized alike on all the various nations which now formed Latin Christendom; the Northern as the Southern, the German as the Italian. In this adventurous age there must be room and scope for every kind of religious adventure. The untameable independence and individuality of the Teutonic character, now dominant throughout Germany, France, and England, still displays itself, notwithstanding the complicated system of feudal tenures and their bondage, in the perpetual insubordination of the nobles to the sovereign, in private wars, in feats of hardihood and enterprise, bordering constantly on the acts of the robber, the freebooter, and the pirate. It had been at once fostered by, and found vent in the Crusades, which called on every one to become a warrior on his own account, and enrolled him not as a conscript or even as a feudal retainer, but as a free and voluntary soldier of the Cross, seeking glory or plunder for himself, or working out his own salvation by deeds of valour against the Unbelievers.

Thirst for religious adventure.

It was the same within the more immediate sphere of religion. When that yearning for independence, that self-isolating individuality was found in connexion with the strong and profound passion for devotion, there was nothing in the ordinary and established forms to satisfy the aspirations of this inordinate piety. Notwithstanding, or rather because of the

completely organised system of Church government throughout the West, which gave to every province its metropolitan, to every city its bishop, to every parish its priest, there could not but be a perpetual insurrection, as it were, of men ambitious of something higher, more peculiar, more extraordinary, more their own. The stated and uniform service of the Church, the common instruction, must be suited to the ordinary level of faith and knowledge: they knew no change, no progress, no accommodation to more earnest or craving spirits. The almost universal secularisation of the clergy would increase this holy dissatisfaction. Even the Pope had become a temporal sovereign, the metropolitan a prince, the bishop a baron, the priest perhaps the chaplain to a marauding army. At all events the ceremonial of the Church went on in but stately uniformity; the most religious man was but a member of the same Christian flock; there was little emulation or distinction. But all this time monastic Christianity was in the theory of the Church the only real Christian perfection; the one sublime, almost the one safe course, was the total abnegation of the monk, renunciation of the world, solitude, asceticism, stern mortification. Man could not inflict upon himself too much humiliation and misery. The true Christian life was one long unbroken penance. Holiness was measured by suffering; the more remote from man the nearer to God. All human sympathies, all social feelings, all ties of kindred, all affections, were to be torn up by the roots from the groaning spirit; pain and prayer, prayer and pain, were to be the sole, stirring, unwearying occupations of a saintly life.

All these more aspiring and restless and insatiable spirits the monasteries invited within their hallowed walls; to all these they promised peace. But they could

rarely fulfil their promise; even they could not satisfy the yearnings for religious adventure. Most of the old monasteries which held the rule either of St. Benedict or of Cassian had become wealthy, and suffered the usual effects of wealth. Some had altogether relaxed their discipline, had long renounced poverty; and the constant dissensions, the appeals to the bishop, to the metropolitan, or where, as they all strove to do, they had obtained exemption from episcopal jurisdiction, to the Pope, showed how entirely the other great vow, obedience to the abbot or prior, had become obsolete. The best were regular and tranquil; they had achieved their labours, they had fertilised their immediate territory, and as though they had now but to enjoy the fruits of their toil, they sunk to indolent repose. Even where the discipline was still severe, it was monotonous, to some extent absolute; its sanctity was exacted, habitual, unawakening. All old establishments are impatient of innovation; a higher flight of devotion becomes insubordination, or a tacit reproach on the ordinary course. Monasticism had been and was ever tracing the same cycle. Now the wilderness, the utter solitude, the utmost poverty, the contest with the stubborn forest and unwholesome morass, the most exalted piety, the devotion which had not hours enough during the day and night for its exercise, the rule which could not be enforced too strictly, the strongly competing asceticism, the inventive self-discipline, the inexhaustible, emulous ingenuity of self-torture, the boastful servility of obedience; then the fame for piety, the lavish offerings of the faithful, the grants of the repentant lord, the endowments of the remorseful king—the opulence, the power, the magnificence. The wattled hut, the rock-hewn hermitage, is now the stately cloister; the lowly church

of wood the lofty and gorgeous abbey; the wild forest or heath the pleasant and umbrageous grove; the marsh a domain of intermingling meadow and corn-fields; the brawling stream or mountain torrent a succession of quiet tanks or pools fattening innumerable fish. The superior, once a man bowed to the earth with humility, care-worn, pale, emaciated, with a coarse habit bound with a cord, with naked feet, is become an abbot on his curvetting palfrey, in rich attire, with his silver cross borne before him, travelling to take his place amid the lordliest of the realm.

New orders, therefore, and new institutions were ever growing out of the old, and hosts of youthful zealots were ripe and eager for their more extreme demands of self-sacrifice, and that which appeared to be self-abandonment, but in fact was often a loftier form of self-adoration. Already, centuries past, in the Benedictine abbeys, the second Benedict (of Aniane) had commenced a new æra of discipline, mortification, saintliness according to the monastic notion of saintship. But that æra, like the old one, had gradually passed away. Again, in the preceding century, Clugny had displayed this marvellous inward force, this reconstructing, reorganising, reanimating energy of monasticism. It had furnished the line of German pontiffs to the papacy, it had trained Hildebrand for the papal throne and placed him upon it. But Clugny was now undergoing the inevitable fate of degeneracy: it was said that the Abbot Pontius had utterly forgotten the stern inflexibility of his great predecessor St. Hugh: he had become worldly, and as worldly, weak in discipline.

But in the meanwhile, in a remote and almost inaccessible corner of Burgundy, had been laid the foundations of a community which by the time that the mind of

Bernard of Clairvaux should be ripe for his great change, would be prepared to satisfy the fervid longings even of a spirit so intensely burning with the fire of devotion. The first origin of this fraternity is one of the most striking and characteristic stories of this religious age. Two brothers of the noble house of Molesme were riding through a wild forest, in arms, on their way to a neighbouring tournament. Suddenly in the mind of each rose the awful thought, "What if I should murder my brother, and so secure the whole of our inheritance?" The strong power of love, of virtue, of religion, or whatever influence was employed by the divine blessing, wrestled down in each the dark temptation. Some years after they passed again the same dreary road; the recollection of their former trial came back upon their minds; they shuddered at once at the fearful power of the Tempter. They hastened to confess themselves to a holy hermit; they then communicated each to the other their fratricidal thoughts; they determined to abandon for ever a world which abounded in such dreadful suggestions, to devote their lives to the God who had saved them from such appalling sin. So rose at Molesme a small community, which rapidly became a monastery. The brothers, however, disappear, at least are not the most conspicuous in the history of this community. In the monastery, in the forest of Colon near Molesme, arose dissension, at length secession. Some of the most rigid, including the abbot, the prior, and Stephen Harding, an Englishman, sought a more complete solitude, a more obstinate wilderness to tame, more sense-subduing poverty, more intense mortification. They found it in a desert place on the borders of Champagne and Burgundy. Nothing could appear more stubborn, more dismal, more

Molesme.

Stephen Harding.

hopeless than this spot; it suited their rigid mood; they had more than once the satisfaction of almost perishing by famine. The monastery of Citeaux had not yet softened away the savage character of the wilderness around when it opened its gates to Bernard of Clairvaux. Stephen Harding had become its abbot, and Stephen was the true founder of the Cistercian Order.

Stephen Harding had been bestowed as an offering by his pious parents on the monastery of Sherborne in Dorsetshire. There he received his education, there he was fed with cravings for higher devotion which Sherborne could not satisfy. He wandered as a pilgrim to Rome; he returned with his spiritual wants still more pressing, more fastidious, more insatiate. Among the brethren of Molesme he found for a time a relief for his soul's necessities: but even from Molesme he was driven forth in search of profound peace, of more full satisfaction; and he was among the seven who retired into the more desolate and unapproachable Citeaux.[m]

Citeaux

Yet already had Citeaux, though still rude and struggling, as it were, with the forest and the marsh, acquired fame. Odo, the mighty Duke of Burgundy, the first patron of the new community, had died in the Holy Land. Ere he expired he commanded that his remains should not rest in the vaults of his cathedral at Dijon, or any of the more stately abbeys of his land, where there were lordly prelates or chapters of priests to celebrate daily the splendid masses with their solemn music for his soul. He desired that they should rest in the humble chapel of Citeaux, blessed by the more pre-

[m] Compare the Life of Harding, in the Lives of the English Saints. If the writers of some of these biographies had condescended to write history rather than to revive legend, they might, from their research and exquisite charm of style, have enriched our literature.

vailing prayers of its holy monks. In after ages, Citeaux, become magnificent, was the burying-place of the Dukes of Burgundy; but over their gorgeous marble tombs it might be questioned whether such devout and earnest supplications were addressed to heaven as by the simple choir of Stephen Harding.

But its glory and its power rose not from the sepulture of the Dukes of Burgundy, but from the entrance of the living Bernard within its walls.[n] Bernard was born of noble parentage in Burgundy. His father, Tecelin, was a man of great bravery and unimpeachable honour and justice; his mother, Alith, likewise of high birth, a model of devotion and charity. Bernard was the third of six brothers; he had one sister. The mother, who had secretly vowed all her children to God, took the chief part in their early education, especially in that of Bernard, a simple and studious, a thoughtful and gentle youth, yet even in childhood of strong will and visionary imagination. The mother's death confirmed the influence of her life. Having long practised secretly the severest monastic discipline, she breathed out her spirit amid the psalms of the clergy around her bed: the last movement of her lips was praise to God.

The world was open to the youth of high birth, beautiful person, graceful manners, irresistible influence. The Court would at once have welcomed a young knight, so endowed, with her highest honours, her most intoxicating pleasures; the Church would have trained a noble disciple so richly gifted for her most powerful bishoprics or her wealthiest abbeys. He closed his eyes upon the

[n] The Life of St. Bernard (the first book) by William the Abbot (Gulielmus Abbas), was written during his lifetime, but without the knowledge or sanction of Bernard. The second book bears the name of Bernard, Abbot of Beauvale.

world, on the worldly Church, with stern determination. He became at once master of his passions. His eyes had dwelt too long and too curiously on a beautiful female; he plunged to the neck in a pool of cold water. His chastity underwent, but unattainted, severer trials. Yet he resolved to abandon this incorrigible world altogether. He inquired for the poorest, the most inaccessible, the most austere of monasteries. It was that of Citeaux. He arrived at the gates, but not alone. Already his irresistible influence had drawn around him thirty followers, all equally resolute in the renunciation of secular life, in submission to the most rigorous discipline; some, men of middle life, versed in, but weary of, the world; most, like himself, youths of noble birth, with life untried and expanding in its most dazzling promise before them. But this was not all; his mother's vow must be fulfilled. One after the other the strange and irresistible force of his character enthralled his brothers, and at length his sister. Two of the brothers with an uncle followed his steps at once: the elder, Guido, was married; his wife refused to yield up her claims on her husband's love. A seasonable illness enforced her submission; she, too, retired to a convent. A wound in the side, prophesied, it was said, by Bernard, brought another, a gallant warrior, as a heart-stricken penitent into his company. When they all left the castle of their fathers, where they had already formed a complete monastic brotherhood, Guido, the elder, addressed Nivard the youngest son. "To you remains the whole patrimony of our house." "Earth to me and heaven to you, that is no fair partition," said the boy. He lingered a short time with his aged father and then joined the rest. Even the father died a monk of Clairvaux in the arms of Bernard. But it was not on his own kindred alone that Bernard wrought

with this commanding power. When he was to preach, wives hurried away their husbands, mothers withdrew their sons, friends their friends, from the resistless magic of his eloquence.

Notwithstanding its fame, the Cistercian monastery up to this time had been content with a few unincreasing votaries. Warlike and turbulent Burgundy furnished only here and there some conscience-stricken disciple to its dreary cells. The accession of the noble Bernard, of his kindred and his followers, raised at once the popularity and crowded the dormitories of this remote cloister. But Bernard himself dwelt in subjection, in solitude, in study. He was alone, except when on his knees with the rest in the choir; the forest oaks and beeches were his beloved companions; he diligently read the sacred Scriptures; he strove to work out his own conception of perfect and angelic religion. He attained a height of abstraction from earthly things which might have been envied by an Indian Yogue. He had so absolutely withdrawn his senses from communion with the world, that they seemed dead to all outward impressions: his eyes did not tell him whether his chamber was ceiled or not, whether it had one window or three. Of the scanty food which he took rather to avert death than to sustain life, his unconscious taste had lost all perception whether it was nauseous or wholesome. Yet Bernard thought himself but in his novitiate; others might have attained, he had but begun his sanctification. He laboured with the hardest labourers, discharged the most menial offices, was everybody's slave; the more degrading the office the more acceptable to Bernard.

A.D. 1113.

But the monastery of Stephen Harding could no longer contain its thronging votaries. From this me-

tropolis of holiness Bernard was chosen to lead the first colony. There was a valley in Champagne, not far from the river Aube, called the Valley of Wormwood, infamous as a den of robbers: Bernard and his companions determined to change it into a temple of God. It was a savage, terrible solitude, so utterly barren that at first they were reduced to live on beech-leaves: they suffered the direst extremity of famine, until the patient faith of Bernard was rewarded by supplies pouring in from the reverential piety of the neighbouring peasants.

Clairvaux.

To the gate of Clairvaux (Bernard's new monastery had taken that musical name, to which he has given immortality) came his sister, who was nobly married, in great state, and with a splendid retinue. Not one of her brothers would go out to see her—she was spurned from the door as a sinner. "If I am a sinner," she meekly replied, "I am one of those for whom Christ died, and have the greater need of my brothers' kindly counsel. Command, I am ready to obey!" Bernard was moved; he could not separate her from her husband, but he adjured her to renounce all her worldly pomp. Humbeline obeyed, devoted herself to fasting and prayer, and at length retired into a convent.

Bernard's life would have been cut short by his austerities; this slow suicide would have deprived the Church of the last of her Fathers. But he had gone to receive orders from the Bishop of Châlons, William of Champeaux, the great dialectician, the teacher and the adversary of Abélard. With him he contracted a strong friendship. The wise counsel, and something like the pious fraud (venial here if ever) of this good prelate, compelled him to support his health, that most precious

gift of God, without which the other high gifts of the Creator were without value.[o]

The fame and influence of Bernard spread rapidly and widely; his irresistible preaching awed and won all hearts. Everywhere Bernard was called in as the great pacificator of religious, and even of civil dissensions. His justice, his mildness, were equally commanding and persuasive. It was a free and open court, to which all might appeal without cost; from which all retired, even if without success, without dissatisfaction; convinced, if condemned by Bernard, of their own wrongfulness. His wondering followers saw miracles in all his acts,[p] prophecies in all his words. The Gospels contain not such countless wonders as the life of Bernard. Clairvaux began to send forth its colonies; to Clairvaux all looked back with fervent attachment to their founder, and carried his name with them by degrees through France, and Italy, and Germany, to England and Spain.

Bernard, worthy as he was, according to the biographer, to be compelled to accept them, firmly declined all ecclesiastical dignities. The Abbot of Clairvaux, with all the wealth and all the honours of the Church at his feet, while he made and unmade Popes, remained but the simple Abbot.

From the schism in the Papal See between Innocent II. and Anacletus II., his life is the history of the Western Church.

[o] The more mature wisdom of Bernard viewed this differently. "Non ergo est temperantia in solis resecandis superfluis, est et in admittendis necessariis."—De Consider., i. viii. Compare the whole chapter.

[p] Some of them, of course, sink to the whimsical and the puerile. On one occasion he excommunicated the flies, which disturbed and defiled a church: they fell dead, and were swept off the floor by baskets full.

Innocent, not without difficulty, had escaped from Rome, had dropped down to the mouth of the Tiber, and reached the port of Pisa. Messengers were immediately despatched to secure the support of the Transalpine Sovereigns, more especially of Louis the Fat, the King of France. The King, who had now become a recognised protector of the Pope, summoned a Council of the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm at Etampes. Both the King and the Prelates imperatively required the presence of Bernard, the holy Abbot of Clairvaux. Bernard arrived, torn reluctant, and not without fear, from his tranquil seclusion, and thus plunged at once into the affairs of the world. The whole assembly, the King and the Prelates, with flattering unanimity, referred the decision of this momentous question to him alone. Thus was Bernard in one day the arbiter of the religious destinies of Christendom. Was he so absolutely superior to that last infirmity of noble minds as to be quite undazzled by the unexpected majesty of his position? He prayed earnestly; did he severely and indifferently examine this great cause? The burning passion of his letters, after he had embraced the cause of Innocent, does not impress the unbiassed inquirer with the calmness of his deliberations. To the Archbishop of Tours, who was slow to acknowledge the superior validity of Innocent's claims, he writes peremptorily—"The abomination of desolation is in the holy places. Antichrist, in persecuting Innocent, is persecuting all innocence: banished from Rome, he is accepted by the world."[q]

May, June, 1130. Innocent in France.

Sept. 11, 1130.

Innocent hastened to the hospitable shores of France.

[q] "Pulsus ab urbe, ab orbe receptus."—Epist. 124.

He landed at St. Gilles, in Provence, and proceeded by Viviers and Puy, in Auvergne, to the monastery of Clugny. There he was received, in the King's name, by Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, and proceeded with horses and with a suitable retinue upon his journey. At Clermont he held a Council, and received the allegiance of two of the great Prelates of Germany, those of Saltzburg and Munster. Near Orleans he was welcomed by the King and his family with every mark of reverence and submission. At Chartres, another monarch, Henry I. of England, acknowledged Innocent as the legitimate successor of St. Peter.[r] The influence of Bernard had overruled the advice of the English Prelates, and brought this second kingly spiritual vassal, though reluctant, to the feet of Innocent. "Thou fearest the sin of acknowledging Innocent: answer thou for thy other sins, be that upon my head."[s] Such was the language of Bernard to the King of England. The Pontiff condescended to visit Rouen, where the Norman Barons, and even the Jews of the city, made him splendid presents. From Germany had come an embassy to declare, that the Emperor Lothair and a Council of sixteen Bishops, at Wurtzburg, had acknowledged Innocent. Anacletus was not only rejected, but included under proscription with the disobedient Frederick the Hohenstaufen and Conrad the King of Italy; they and all their partisans were menaced with excommunication. The ambassadors invited Innocent to visit Germany. He held his first Council at Rheims, where he crowned the King of France and his infant son. He visited, before or after

Oct. 25.

Nov. 18, 29.

Jan. 30, 1131.

May 10.

Council of Rheims. Oct. 18.

[r] William of Malmesbury.—Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. [s] Vita Bernardi.

the Council, other parts of France. He was at Etampes, Châlons, Cambray, Laon, Paris, Beauvais, Compiègne, Auxerre, as well as at Liège, Rouen, Gisors, Pont-Ysère, with Bernard as his inseparable companion. In public affairs he appeared to consult his Cardinals; but every measure had been previously discussed in his private conferences with the Abbot of Clairvaux.

At Liège. March 22, 1131.

Bernard accompanied him to Liège. The Pope was received with the highest honours by the Emperor Lothair; the Emperor held the reins of the Pope's white palfrey; but to the dismay of Innocent and his Cardinals, Lothair renewed the old claim to the investitures;[t] and seemed disposed to enforce his demand as the price of his allegiance, if not by stronger measures. Innocent thought of the fate of Paschal, and trembled at the demand of the Barbarian. But the eloquence of Bernard overawed the Emperor: Lothair submitted to the spell of his authority.[u] On his return from Liège, the Pope visited the Abbey of Clairvaux. It was a strange contrast with the magnificence of his reception in the stately churches of Rheims, of Rouen, and of Liège, which were thronged with the baronial clergy, and their multitudes of clerical attendants, and rich with the ornaments offered by pious kings and princes; nor less the contrast with the gorgeous state of the wealthy monasteries, even the now splendid, almost luxurious Clugny. He was met at Clairvaux by the poor of Christ, not clad in purple and fine linen, but in

[t] "Episcoporum sibi restitui investituras, quas ab ejus prædecessore Imperatore Henrico, Romana Ecclesia vindicarat."—Ernold. Vit. Bernard.

[u] "Sed nec Leodii cervicibus imminens mucro barbaricus compulit acquiescere importunis improbisque postulationibus iracundi atque irascentis regis." — S. Bernard., Epist. 150. Bernard has rather overcharged the wrath of the meek Lothair.

tattered raiment; not bearing Gospels or sacred books embossed in gold, but a rude stone cross. No trumpet sounded, no tumultuous shouts were heard; no one lifted his looks from the earth, no curious eye wandered abroad to gaze on the ceremony; the only sound was a soft and lowly chant. The Prelates and the Pope were moved to tears. The Roman clergy were equally astonished at the meanness of the Church furniture, the nakedness of the walls; not less by the hardness and scantiness of the fare, the coarsest bread and vegetables, instead of the delicacies to which they were accustomed; a single small fish had been procured for the Pope. They had little desire to sojourn long at Clairvaux.[x]

Innocent acknowledged by all the Transalpine kings.

Bernard could boast that Innocent was now acknowledged, and chiefly through his influence, by the Kings of France, England, Spain, and by the Emperor. The more powerful clergy beyond the Alps, all the religious communities, the Camaldulites, the Vallombrosans, the Carthusians, those of Clugny, with other Benedictines; his own Cistercians, in all their wide-spreading foundations, were on the same side. In Italy, the Archbishop of Ravenna, the Bishops of Pavia, Pistoia, Asti, and Parma, offered their allegiance. Of all the Sovereigns of Europe, Duke Roger of Sicily alone, bribed by the promise of a crown, adhered to his rival.

Bernard has now become an ardent, impassioned, disdainful partisan; he has plunged heart and soul into the conflict and agitation of the world.[y] Anacletus

x Epist. 125.

y Bernard insists throughout on the canonical election of Innocent. In one place he doubtfully asserts the numbers to have been in favour of Innocent "Cujus electio sanior numerum eligentium et numero vincens et merito." In other passages he rests the validity

had dared to send his legates into France: Aquitaine had generally espoused his cause. "Why not," writes the indignant Bernard to the Bishops of that province, "to Persia, to Decapolis, to the farthest Scythians?" Bernard's letters are addressed to the cities of Italy in terms of condescending praise and commanding authority rather than of meek persuasion. He exhorts them, Genoa more especially, which seemed to have been delighted with his presence, to reject the insidious alliance of the King of Sicily.[z] He threatens Milan, and hints that the Pope may raise bishops into archbishops, degrade archbishops into bishops. His power over the whole clergy knows no limitation. Bernard offers his mediation; but the price of reconciliation is not only submission to the spiritual power of Pope Innocent, but to the renunciation of Conrad, who still claimed the kingdom of Italy. They must make satisfaction, not to the Pope alone, but to the Emperor Lothair, the Pope's ally.[a]

The Emperor Lothair had promised to reinstate Innocent in the possession of Rome. Innocent entered Italy; he was received in Asti, Novara, Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza; he met the Emperor on the plains of Roncaglia. From Piacenza he moved to Pisa, reconciled that city with her rising rival

Nov. 8, 1132.

of the election altogether on the soundness of his adherents. It is the "dignitas eligentium. Hanc enim, ni fallor, partem saniorem invenies."—Epist. 126. "Electio meliorum, approbatio plurium, et quod hic efficacius est, morum attestatio, Innocentium apud omnes commendant, summum confirmant Pontificem." Consult these three epistles, of which the rhetoric is more powerful than the argument.

[z] "Habet tamen ducem Apuliæ, sed solum ex principibus, ipsumque usurpatæ coronæ mercede ridicula comparatum."—Anacletus had kept his compact and advanced Roger to the kingdom of Sicily, Sept. 27, 1130.—Epist. 129 to 134. Some of these were written (Epist. 129) during Bernard's progress through Italy.

[a] Epist. 137, addressed to the Em-

Genoa, and rewarded the obedience of Genoa by raising the see into an archbishopric. The fleets of Genoa and Pisa became the most useful allies of the Pope. The next year the Emperor and the Pope advanced to Rome, Bernard still by the side of the conquering Pontiff. Anacletus did not venture to defend the city; he retired beyond the Tiber, occupied the Vatican, and maintained the Castle of St. Angelo. On either side of the river sat a Pope launching his interdict against his adversary. The Pope rewarded the Emperor's fidelity by crowning him and his Empress Richilda with great solemnity in the Lateran Church. Lothair swore to protect the Pope and the royalties of St. Peter to the utmost of his power; to enforce the restoration of all the rights and possessions withheld by violence from the See. But the presence of Lothair was the only safeguard of Innocent in Rome. No sooner had the Emperor returned to Germany than Innocent retired to Pisa, which, in St. Bernard's words, had the dignity of becoming a second Rome, the seat of exiled Pontiffs. Bernard was indignant at the long though necessary tardiness of the Emperor. It was not for him to excite to war, but it was for the Emperor to vindicate his throne from the Sicilian usurper; to defend the Church from the Jewish schismatic. His letter is that of a superior, under the guise of the lowest humility, dictating what is irrefragably right; in its address it is the supplication of a suitor; in its substance, in its spirit, a lofty reprimand.[b] He rebukes him for other weaknesses; for neglecting the interests of God by allowing the Church of St. Gingoulph to be oppressed;

March, 1133.

April 30.

June 4.

[b] Epist. 139, 140.

he rebukes him for his ingratitude to Pisa, always the loyal subject and the most powerful ally of the Empire.

It was not till the fourth year of Innocent's retirement had begun (at Pisa[c] he exercised all the functions of a Pope, except over Rome and in the south of Italy), that Lothair appeared again under the Alps at the head of a formidable army. The Pope, at the head of one division, marched against the cities in the neighbourhood of Rome; Lothair against the great ally of Anacletus, the King of Sicily. Lothair subdued the March of Ancona, the Principality of Capua, and almost the whole of Apulia. But this conquest endangered the amity between the Emperor and the Pope. Each claimed the right of investiture. Since the Norman conquest the Popes had maintained their strange claim to sovereignty over the whole kingdom of Naples; their right was grounded on the exercise of the right. The Emperor, as Emperor and King of Italy, declared himself undoubted sovereign of all which had not been expressly granted by his predecessors to the Holy See. A compromise took place; the new Duke Rainer swore fealty both to the Emperor and to the Pope. The King of Sicily had quietly withdrawn his troops, and waited his opportunity, when the Emperor should return to Germany,[d] to resume the offensive. Anacletus, in his impregnable fortress of St. Angelo, defied his enemies. But his death relieved Innocent from his obstinate antagonist. The descendant of the Jew was buried secretly, lest his body, like that of Formosus, should be torn from its resting-place by the

Jan. 25, 1138.

[c] Innocent was at Pisa from Nov. 16, 1133 to Feb. 28, 1137. He was on the plain of Roncaglia, Nov. 3, 1136.

[d] The Emperor Lothair died on his return to Germany, Dec. 3-4, 1137.

vengeance of his enemies. An Antipope was elected two months after the death of Anacletus; he held his state but for two months more. For Innocent had returned to Rome, with Bernard by his side. Bernard, he himself declares, was constantly sighing for the quiet shades of Clairvaux, for seclusion, for unworldly self-sanctification; but the interests of God and the commands of the Pope detained him, still reluctant, in the turmoil of secular affairs. His eloquence now wrought, perhaps, its greatest triumph; it prevailed over Roman faction and priestly ambition. Victor II., such was the name which the Cardinal-Priest Gregory had assumed with the Popedom, renounced his dignity; the powerful family of Peter the son of Leo abandoned the weary contest, and all Rome acknowledged the Pope of St. Bernard.

March to May 29.

Jan. 12.

Never had Rome or any other city of Christendom beheld so numerous a council as that held by Innocent II. in the Lateran Palace on the 4th of April, 1139—a thousand bishops (five from England), countless abbots, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries. The decrees have survived, not the debates of this Council. The speech of the Pope may be read; there is no record of those of Bernard and of the other ruling authorities. But the decrees, as well as the speech of Innocent, image forth the Christianity of the times, the Christianity of St. Bernard.

The oration of the Pope is remarkable, as distinctly claiming a feudal superiority over the whole clergy of Christendom. Every ecclesiastical dignity is held of him, as the great spiritual liege lord.[e] After inveighing

[e] "Quia a Romani pontificis licentia ecclesiastici ordinis celsitudo, quasi feodalis juris consuetudine suscipitur, et sine ejus permissione legaliter non tenetur."—Chronicon. Maurin. apud Labbe.

against the sacrilegious ambition of the Antipope, Innocent annulled all his decrees. "We degrade all whom he has promoted; we expel from holy orders and depose all whom he has consecrated." Those ordained by the legate of Anacletus, Gerard of Angoulême, were interdicted from their functions. Each of these degraded Prelates was summoned. The Pope assailed those that appeared with indignant reproaches, wrenched their pastoral staves out of their hands, himself stripped the palls from their shoulders, and without mercy took away the rings by which they were wedded to their churches.

The decrees of the Lateran Council, while the Pope asserted his unlimited power over the episcopal order, gave to the bishops the same unlimited power over the lower clergy.[f] Even for irregular or unbecoming dress they might be deprived of their benefices. The marriage of subdeacons was strictly forbidden. A remarkable statute inhibited the prevailing usage of monks and regular canons practising law and medicine; the law, as tending not merely to withdraw them from their proper occupation of psalmody, but as confounding their notions of right and wrong, of justice and iniquity, and encouraging them to be avaricious of worldly gain. The same avidity for lucre led them to practise medicine, the knowledge of which could not be reconciled with the severe modesty of a monk.

Another significant canon betrayed that already a secret insurrection was brooding in the hearts of men against the sacerdotal authority of the Church. These very times witnessed a formidable struggle against her wealth and power; and some bolder men had already

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[f] Decret. iv.

begun to question her doctrines. The twenty-third canon of the Lateran Council might seem directed against the anabaptists of the 16th century. "We expel from the Church as heretics those who, under the semblance of religion, condemn the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the baptism of children, the priesthood, and the holy rite of marriage." The heretics against whom this anathema was aimed will before long force themselves on our notice.

The legislation of the Lateran Council did not confine itself to the affairs of the clergy, or, strictly speaking, of religion. The Council assumed the office of conservator of the public morals and the public peace. It condemned usurers and incendiaries. It repeated the enactment demanding security at all times for certain classes, the clergy of all orders, monks, pilgrims, merchants, and rustics employed in agriculture, with their beasts, their seed, and their flocks. The Truce of God was to be observed on the appointed days under peril of excommunication; after a third admonition excommunication followed, which if the clergy did not respect, they were to be degraded from their orders. The persons of the clergy were taken under especial protection. It was sacrilege to strike a clergyman or a monk—a sacrilege, the penalty of which could only be absolved on the death-bed. A rigid decree prohibited tournaments as a vain display of strength and valour, and as leading to bloodshed. Another singular decree condemned the use of the cross-bow against Christians and Catholics as an act deadly and hateful to God.

This solemn Christian protest against the habits of a warlike age, as might be expected, had no immediate or visible effect: yet still as a protest it may have

worked in the depths of the Christian mind, if not absolutely compelling its observance, yet giving weight and authority to kindred thoughts in reflective minds; at all events, rescuing Christianity from the imputation of a total forgetfulness of its genuine spirit, an utter extinction of its essential character.

In that strange discordance indeed which is so embarrassing in ecclesiastical history, almost all the few remaining years of Innocent II., the great pacificator, are occupied in war. He is heading his own armies, first against Tusculum and other rebellious cities in the neighbourhood of Rome; then in an obstinate war against the King of Sicily. It would be curious, if it were possible, to ascertain how far the papal troops respected the monk and the pilgrim, the merchant and the husbandman; how far they observed the solemn days of the Truce of God. In these unseemly martial expeditions the Popes were singularly unfortunate, yet their disasters almost always turned to their advantage. Like his predecessor Leo IX., Innocent fell, as a prisoner of war, into the hands of his enemies. Again the awe-struck Norman bowed before his holy captive, and Innocent as a prisoner obtained better terms than he would have won at the point of the sword.

CHAPTER V.

Gotschalk—Abélard.

THE papacy is again united in the person of Innocent II., but the work of the real Supreme Pontiff of Christendom, of the ruling mind of the West, is but half achieved. Bernard must be followed to other conquests, to other victories; victories which for some centuries left their influence upon mankind, and arrested the precocious, irregular, and perilous struggles for intellectual and spiritual, and even civil freedom.

Two great intellectual movements begin.

Monastic Christianity led to two unexpected but inevitable results, to the expansion of the human understanding, even till it strove to overleap the lofty barriers of the established Catholic doctrine, and to a sullen and secret mutiny, at length to an open insurrection, against the power of the sacerdotal order. The former revolt was not only premature, but suppressed without any immediate outburst menacing to the stability of the dominant creed and institutions. It was confined not indeed to a few, for the schools of those whom the Church esteemed the most dangerous teachers were crowded with young and almost fanatical hearers. But it was a purely intellectual movement. The Church raised up on her side as expert and powerful dialecticians as those who strove for emancipation. Wherever philosophy aspired to be independent of theology, it was seized and carried captive back. Nor did the Church by any means exclu-

sively maintain her supremacy by stern and imperious authority, by proscribing and suppressing inquiry. Though she did not disdain, she did not entirely rely on fixing the infamy of heretical doctrine upon the more daring reasoners; she reasoned herself by her sons with equal vigour, if with more submissiveness; sounded with her antagonists the depths of metaphysical inquiry, examined the inexhaustible processes of human thought and language, till gradually the gigantic bulwark of scholastic theology rose around the Catholic doctrine.

Of this first movement, the intellectual struggle for emancipation, Abélard was the representative and the victim. Of the second, far more popular, immediate, and while it lasted, perilous, that which rose up against the whole hierarchical system of Christendom, the champion was Arnold of Brescia. This last was for a time successful; combining with the inextinguishable republican spirit of the Roman populace, it curbed and subjugated the great head of the hierarchy in the very seat of his power. It required a league between a powerful Emperor and an able Pope to crush Arnold of Brescia; but in the ashes of Arnold of Brescia's funeral pile smouldered for centuries the fire which was at length to blaze out in irresistible violence.

Both these movements sprang naturally out of monastic Christianity; it is necessary to trace the birth of each in succession from this unsuspected and unsuspecting origin. It was impossible, even in the darkest times, to seclude a large part of mankind from the active duties of life without driving, as it were, some into intellectual occupation. Conventual discipline might enslave or absorb the greater number by its perpetual round of ritual observance; by the distribution of day and night into short portions, to each of

which belonged its prayer, its maceration, its religious exercise. It might induce in most a religious terror, a fearful shrinking of the spirit from every possibly unlawful aberration of the mind, as from any unlawful emotion of the body. The coarser and more sluggish minds would be altogether ice-bound in the alternation of hard labour and unvarying religious service. They would rest contented in mechanical drudgery in the field, and as mechanical religion in the chapel. The calmer and more imaginative would surrender themselves to a dreamy ecstacy of devotion. Mysticism, in some one of its forms, would absorb all their energies of mind, all their aspirations of heart. Meditation with them might be one long, unbroken, unceasing adoration, the more indistinct the more awful, the more awful the more reverential; and that reverence would suppress at once any question bordering on presumption. Submission to authority, the vital principle of monasticism, would be a part of their being. Yet with some contemplation could not but lead to thought; meditation would quicken into reflection; reflection, however checked by authority and restrained by dread, would still wander away, would still strive against its barriers. The being and the attributes of God, the first prescribed subject of holy contemplation, what were they? Where was the bound, the distinction, between things visible and things invisible? things material and things immaterial? the real and the unreal? the finite and the infinite? The very object which was continually enforced upon the mind by its most sublime attribute, the incomprehensibility of God, tempted the still baffled but unwearied desire of comprehension. Reason awoke, composed itself again to despairing slumber on the lap of authority; awoke

again, its slumbers became more disturbed, more irregular, till the anodyne of awe had lost its power. Religion itself seemed to compel to metaphysical inquiry; and the region of metaphysical inquiry once expanding on the view, there was no retreat. Reason no sooner began to cope with these inevitable subjects, than it was met on the threshold by the great question, the existence of a world inapprehensible by our senses, and that of the mode of its apprehension by the mind. This great unanswerable problem appears destined to endure as long as mankind; but no sooner was it started and followed out by the contemplative monk, than from an humble disciple of the Gospel he became a philosopher; he was, perhaps, an unconscious Aristotelian, or an unconscious Platonist. But in truth the tradition of neither philosophy had absolutely died out. Among the few secular books which survived the wreck of learning and found their way into the monastic libraries, were some which might foster the bias either to the more rational or more ideal view.[a]

So in every insurrection, whether religious or more philosophical, against the dominant dogmatic system, a monk was the leader, and there had been three or four of these insurrections before the time of Abélard. Even early in the ninth century the German monk Gotschalk had revived the dark subject of predestination. This subject had almost slept since the time of Augustine and his scholar Fulgentius, who had relentlessly crushed the Semi-Pelagianism of his day.[b] It is a singular

[a] The Isagoge of Porphyrius; the works of Boethius.

[b] It is curious that the first heresy after the *establishment* of Mohammedanism, was the denial, or questioning at least, of predestinarianism. "A peine le prophète était mort qu'une dispute s'éleva entre les theologiens sur le dogme de Prédestination."—Schmolder's Essai, p. 192. See also Ritter, Christliche Philosophie, p. 693.

circumstance, as has been before shown, that this religious fatalism has been so constantly the creed or rather the moving principle of those who have risen up against established ecclesiastical authority, while an established religion tends constantly to acquiesce in a less inflexible view of divine providence. The reason is simple, and twofold. Nothing less than a stern fanaticism, which makes the reformer believe himself under the direct guidance, a mere instrument, predestined by God's providence for this work, would give courage to confront a powerful hierarchy, to meet obloquy, persecution, even martyrdom; the same fanaticism, by awakening a kindred conviction of an absolute and immediate call from God, gives hope of a successful struggle at least, if not of victory; he is pre-doomed or specially commissioned and avowed by the Most High. On the other hand an hierarchy is naturally averse to a theory which involves the direct and immediate operation of God by an irreversible decree upon each individual mind. Assuming itself to be the intermediate agency between God and man, and resistance to its agency being the sure and undeniable consequence of the tenet, it cannot but wish to modify or mitigate that predestination which it does not altogether reject. It is perpetually appealing to the freewill of man by its offers of the means of grace; as the guide and spiritual director of each individual soul, it will not be superseded by an anterior and irrevocable law. Predestination, in its extreme theory at least, disdains all the long, slow, and elaborate work of the Church, in training, watching, controlling, and submitting to ecclesiastical discipline, the soul committed to its charge. The predestinarian, though in fact (such is the logical inconsistency of strong religious belief) by no means

generally antinomian, is always represented and indeed believed to be antinomian by those from whose rigid authority this primary tenet emancipates the disciple. So it was that the Transalpine hierarchy, under the ruling influence of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who at one time possessed almost papal authority, persecuted the Predestinarian as a dangerous and lawless heretic; and Gotschalk endured the censure of a council, the scourge, the prison, with stubborn and determined confidence, not merely that he was fulfilling his divine mission, but that in him the Church condemned the true doctrine of the irrefragable Augustine.[c]

Scotus Erigena.

Hincmar called to his aid, against this premature Luther, an ally who alarmed the Church no less than Gotschalk himself by his appeal to a new power above Catholic authority, human reason. We have already encountered this extraordinary man as the spiritual ancestor, the parent of Berengar of Tours and of his anti-transubstantiation doctrine. A sudden revulsion took place. Hincmar, by his overweening pride and pretensions to supremacy, at least over the whole Church of France, had awakened a strong jealousy among the great prelates of the realm. Prudentius of Troyes took the lead against him; and

[c] Gotschalk stands so much alone, that I thought it not necessary, during the age of Hincmar, to arrest the course of events by the discussion of his views. His tenets may be seen in one sentence from his own works in Hincmar's De Prædestinatione: "Quia sicut Deus incommutabilis ante mundi constitutionem omnes electos suos incommutabiliter per gratuitam gratiam suam prædestinavit ad vitam æternam, similiter omnino omnes reprobos, qui in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse incommutabilis Deus per justum judicium suum incommutabiliter prædestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam." In Archbishop Ussher's works will be found the whole controversy. Gotteschalci et Prædestinatiariæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ Historia. See also the Lectures of M. Ampère.

though eventually Gotschalk died in a prison, yet Hincmar became a tyrannical persecutor, well nigh a heretic, Gotschalk an injured victim, if not a martyr. This fatal ally of Hincmar was the famous John, commonly called Erigena.

Perhaps the only fact which may be considered certain as to the early years of John the Erin-born is, that he must have commenced at least this train of philosophic thought in some one of the monastic schools of Ireland or of the Scottish islands. In some secluded monastery among those last retreats of knowledge which had escaped the Teutonic invasion, or on the wave-beat shore of Iona, John the Scot imbibed that passion for knowledge which made him an acceptable guest at Paris, the partner of the table and even of the bed of Charles the Bald.[d] Throughout those wild and turbulent times of Charles the Bald Erigena lived undisturbed by the civil wars which raged around, resolutely detached from secular affairs, not in monastic but in intellectual seclusion. John is said to have made a pilgrimage, not to the birthplace of the Saviour, but to that of Plato and Aristotle;[e] and it is difficult to imagine where in the West he can have obtained such knowledge of Greek as to enable him to translate the difficult and mystic work which bore the name of Dionysius the Areopagite.[f] John the Scot professed an equal admiration for the antagonistic philosophies of

[d] Hence the anecdote, true or false, of his famous repartee to the King, "Quid distat inter Scotum et sotum? —mensa."

[e] Brucker thinks that John's knowledge of Greek gave rise to this report of his travels to the East.

[f] Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, himself a Greek, had given a temporary impulse to the study of the language. It will be seen that two centuries later the universal Abélard was ignorant of Greek; and I doubt whether his fair pupil understood more than her master.

Plato and of Aristotle; he even attempted the yet unaccomplished, perhaps the impossible, task of reconciling the poetry and prose of the two systems. In his treatise on Predestination he boldly asserts the supremacy of Reason; he throws off, what no Latin before had dared, the fetters of Augustinianism. His freewill is even more than the plain practical doctrine of Chrysostom and the Greek Fathers, who avoided or eluded that inscrutable question: it is an attempt to found it on philosophic grounds, to establish it on the sublime arbitration of human reason. In his translation of Dionysius the Areopagite with the Commentary of Maximus, Erigena taught the mysticism of the later Platonists. He aspired to the still higher office of harmonising philosophy with religion, which in their loftiest sense he declared to be the same.[g] Thus John the Scot was at once a strong Rationalist (he brings all theologic questions to the test of dialectic reasoning); and at the same time, not by remote inference, but plainly and manifestly a Pantheist. With him God is all things, all things are God. The Creator alone truly *is*; the universe is but a sublime Theophany, a visible manifestation of God. He distinctly asserts the eternity of the universe; his dialectic proof of this he proclaims to be irresistible. Creation could not have been an

[g] Erigena's most remarkable work bears a Greek title, περὶ φυσεῶν μερισμοῦ, published by Gale, Oxford, 1681; recently by M. Schruter, Munster, 1838. On this book compare Haureau, De la Philosophie Scholastique (an admirable treatise), p. 112, *et seq.* "Quel étonnement, disons même quel respect, doit nous inspirer la grande figure de ce docteur, qui causera tant d'agitation dans l'Église; qui sèmera les vents, et recueillera les tempêtes, mais saura les braver; qui ne laissera pas un héritier direct de sa doctrine, mais qui du moins aura la gloire d'avoir annoncé, d'avoir précédé Bruno, Vanini, Spinosa, les plus téméraires des logiciens qui aient jamais erré sous les platanes de l'Académie." See also the Lectures of M. Ampère.

accident of the Deity; it is of his essence to be a cause: all things therefore have existed, do exist, and will exist through him their cause. All things flow from the infinite abyss of the Godhead, and are re-absorbed into it.[h] No wonder that, notwithstanding the profound devotion which John the Scot blended with his most daring speculations, and the valuable service which he rendered to the Church, especially by his confutation, on however perilous grounds, yet which the foes of the predestinarian alleged to be a full confutation of the predestinarian Gotschalk, he was met by a loud and hostile clamour. Under the general denunciation of the Church and of the Pope, Nicolas I., he was obliged to fly to England: there he is said to have taken refuge in Alfred's new University of Oxford.[i] But if by his bolder speculations John the Scot appalled his age, by his translation of Dionysius the Areopagite he compensated to the monastic system as supplying to the dreamy and meditative a less lawless and more absorbing train of thought, a more complete, more satisfactory, yet inoffensive mysticism to the restless mind.[k] What could be more congenial to the recluse, who aspired beyond the daily routine of toil and psalmody, than this vision of the Godhead, this mystic union with the Supreme, the emancipation of the soul from its corpo-

[h] Compare Brucker, vol. iii. p. 618, Schmidt der Mysticismus der Mittel Alter. See also Guizot, Civilis. Moderne, Lec. 29; Rousselot, Études sur la Philosophie dans le Moyen Age, cap. 2. John Scot had in distinct terms the "cogito, ergo sum" of Descartes; but in fact he took it from Augustine. Haureau, p. 133. Compare Ritter, ii. p. 186. We may return to John Scot.

[i] The account of his death is borrowed by Matthew of Westminster from that of a later John the Saxon, who was stabbed by some monks in a quarrel. The flight to England does not depend on the truth of that story.

[k] William of Malmesbury says of Erigena: "Si tamen ignoscatur ei in aliquibus, in quibus a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit."—P. 190, N. S. edit.

real prison-house, the aspiration to, the absorption in, the primal fountain of light and blessedness, the attainable angelic, and higher than angelic perfection, the ascent through all the gradations of the celestial hierarchy up to the visible at once and invisible throne of God? The effect of this work on the whole ecclesiastic system, and on the popular faith, it is almost impossible justly to estimate. The Church of France had now made it a point of their national and monastic honour to identify the St. Denys, the founder and patron saint of the church at Paris, with the Areopagite of St. Paul; to them there could be no gift so acceptable, none so greedily received. But when the whole hierarchy found that they, each in their ascending order, were the image of an ascending hierarchical type in heaven; that each order culminating in the Pope,[m] was the representative of a celestial order culminating in the Supreme; this was too flattering to their pride and to their power not to become at once orthodox and ecclesiastical doctrine. The effect of this new angelology on the popular belief, on the arts, and on the imagination of Latin Christendom, will be more fully developed in our consideration of the rise and progress of Christian mythology.

Though an outcast and an exile, John the Scot maintained such authority on account of his transcendent learning, that in the second great rebellion, not merely against the supremacy but almost the life of the mediæval system, Berengar of Tours appealed to him as one whose name, whose intimacy with Charles the Bald, ought to overawe the puny opponents of his time. He seems to have thought, he fearlessly and

[m] See, however, vol. ix. This tenet would be added in the West.

repeatedly asserted, even so learned and renowned a prelate as Lanfranc to be presumptuous in not bowing at once to the decisions of John the Scot.

As time rolled on, these speculations were no longer working only in the minds of solitary men, often no doubt when least suspected. They were not promulgated, as those of Gotschalk had been, by public preaching; even those of Berengar had gained their full publicity in the schools which were attached to many of the greater monasteries. In these schools, the parents of our modern universities, the thought which had been brooded over and perhaps suppressed in the silence of the cloister, found an opportunity of suggesting itself for discussion, of commanding a willing, often a numerous, auditory; and was quickened by the collision of adverse opinion. The recluse and meditative philosopher became a teacher, the head of a new philosophy. Dialectics, the science of logic, was one of the highest, if not the highest, intellectual study. It was part of the Quadrivium, the more advanced and perfect stage of public education; and under the specious form of dialectic exercises, the gravest questions of divinity became subjects of debate. Thus began to rise a new Christian theology; not that of the Church embodied in the devout forms of the Liturgy, and enforced in the simple or more impassioned discourse from the pulpit; not that of the thoughtful divine, following out his own speculations in their natural course; but that of the disputant, bound by conventional scientific forms, with a tendency to degenerate from a severe investigation of truth into a trial of technical skill. In its highest tone acute, ingenious, and subtile, it presented every question in every possible form: it was comprehensive so as to

embrace the most puerile and frivolous, as well as the most momentous and majestic inquiries; if dry, wearisome, unawakening in its form, as litigation and as a strife of contending minds, it became of intense interest. It was the intellectual tournament of a small intellectual aristocracy, to which all the scholars who were bred to more peaceful avocations thronged in multitudes.

The strife between the Nominalists and Realists, famous names, which to the schools were as the Guelfs and Ghibellines in the politics of Europe, was one of the first inevitable results of this importance assumed by the science of dialectics. It is difficult to translate this controversy out of its logical language, and to make it clearly intelligible to the popular apprehension; nor is it immediately apparent how the fundamental truths of Christianity, of religion itself, as the jealous and sensitive vigilance of the hierarchy could not but perceive, were involved in this dispute. The doctrine and fate of Roscelin, the first great Nominalist, the authoritative interpreter if not the author of the system, show at once the character and the fears excited by Nominalism. Roscelin peremptorily denied the real existence of universals; nothing actually *is* but the individual, that of which the senses take immediate cognisance. Universals were mere conventional phrases. Each animal subsists; the animal race is but an aggregate of the thought; man lives, humankind is a creation of the mind; the inherent, distinctive, accidental qualities of things are inseparable from the objects to which they belong. He even denied the proper existence of parts, the whole alone had actual being; it was divided or analysed only by an effort of reflection. Though the

materialising tendency of Roscelin's doctrine was clearly discerned[n] and sternly denounced by his adversaries, yet Roscelin himself did not absolutely deny the reality of the invisible, immaterial world: the souls of men, the angels, the Deity, were to him unquestioned beings. This appears even from the fatal syllogism which awoke the jealousy of the Church, and led to the proscription of Roscelin. For philosophy could not stand aloof from theology, and Roscelin was too bold or too consistent not to push his system into that forbidden domain. The statement of his opinions rests on the evidence of his adversary, but that adversary, Anselm, cites his own words, and in a form likely to have been used by so fearless a dialectician. While he reasoned of the Godhead as if having no doubt of its real being, his own concessions seemed of necessity to perplex or to destroy the doctrine of the Trinity. If the three persons are one thing, and not three things, as distinct as three angels or three souls, though one in will and power, the Father and the Holy Ghost must have been incarnate with the Son.[o]

It was a churchman, but a churchman bred in a monastery, who in the quiet of its cloisters had long sounded the depths of metaphysical inquiry and was practised in its schools, one really compelled to leave his contemplative seclusion to mingle in worldly affairs

[n] "In eorum (the Nominalists) quippe animabus, ratio, quæ et princeps et judex omnium debet esse quæ sunt in homine, sic est in imaginationibus corporalibus obvoluta, ut ex eis se non possit evolvere; nec ab ipsis ea quæ ipsa sola et pura contemplari debet, valeat discernere." —Anselm, apud Rousselot.

[o] "Si in Deo tres personæ sunt una tantum res, et non sunt tres res, unaquæque per se separatim, sicut tres angeli, aut tres animæ, ita tamen ut voluntate et potentiâ sint idem, ergo Pater et Spiritus Sanctus cum Filio incarnatus est."—Anselm de fid. Trinit., Rousselot, t. i. p. 160.

—Anselm, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who rose up to denounce and confute at once the heretical logic and heretical theology of Roscelin.

The abbey of Bec.

The Norman abbey of Bec seemed to aspire to that same pre-eminence in theologic learning and the accomplishments of high-minded churchmen which the Normans were displaying in valour, military skill, and the conquests of kingdoms. The Normans had founded or subdued great monarchies at each extreme of Europe. Normans sate on the thrones of Sicily and England. From the Norman abbey of Bec came forth two archbishops of England, the champions of the Catholic doctrine, one, Lanfranc, against Berengar of Tours, the other, Anselm, the triumphant adversary of Roscelin, and, if not the founder, the precursor of the scholastic theology. The monastery of Bec had been founded by Herluin, a fierce and ignorant knight, who toiled and prayed as a monk with the same vehemence with which he had fought as a warrior. Herluin, accustomed to head a band of savage freebooters, suddenly seized with a paroxysm of devotion, had become the head of a religious brotherhood, in which the no less savage austerity made a profound impression upon his countrymen, and obtained for it that fame for rigid discipline which led the Italian Lanfranc, as afterwards the Italian Anselm, to its walls.[p] It is true that the great theologians of Bec were strangers by birth, but they were adopted Normans, called to Norman sees, and protected by Norman kings.

[p] Compare throughout C. Rémusat, Anselme. This excellent book has appeared since the greater part of my work was written; the whole indeed of this passage. See also the treatises of Anselm, many of them separately republished; Frank, Anselm von Canterbury; Möhler, Anselm; Bouchette

The profound devotion of his age was the all-absorbing passion of Anselm.[q] The monastery was his home; when he was forced into the Primate's throne of England, his heart was still in the quiet abbey of Bec. In his philosophy, as in his character, Faith was the priest, who stood alone in the sanctuary of his heart; Reason, the awe-struck and reverential minister was to seek satisfaction not for the doubts (for from doubts Anselm would have recoiled as from treason against God), but for those grave questionings, how far and in what manner the harmony was to be established between the Godhead of Revelation and of Reason. The theology of the Church, in all its most imperious dogmatism, was the irrefragable truth from which Anselm set out. It was not timidity or even awe, which kept him within the barriers; his mind intuitively shrunk from all without those bounds, excepting so far as profound thought might seem to elucidate and make more clear the catholic conceptions of the Godhead and of the whole invisible world. His famous philosophical axiom alone perpetuated his renown during the centuries which looked with contempt on the intellectual movements of the middle ages, the a priori proof of the being of God—"The idea of God in the mind of man is the one unanswerable evidence of the existence of God." This with Anselm was an illustration rather than the groundwork of his theology. It was not the discovery of God, whom his soul had from its earliest dawn implicitly believed, whom his heart had from his youth upward loved with intense devotion; it was not even a satisfaction of his craving intellect

Anselm.

[q] Anselm will appear again in his high sacerdotal character as Archbishop of Canterbury.

(his intellect required no satisfaction); it was the bright thought which flashed across the reflective mind, or to which it was led by the slow gradations of reasoning.[r] Faith condescended to knowledge, not because faith was insufficient, but because knowledge was, as it were, in the contemplative mind a necessary fruit of faith. He could not understand unless he first believed. But the intellect, which had for so many centuries slumbered on the lap of religion, or at least only aspired to activity on subjects far below these primary and elemental truths; which when it fought, fought for the outworks of the creed, and left the citadel, or rather (for, as in Jerusalem, the temple was the fortress as well as the fane) the Holy of Holies, to be guarded by its own inherent sanctity;—the intellect however awakened with reverential hand, once stirred, could not compose itself to the same profound repose. Anselm unconsciously, being absolutely himself without fear and without danger, had entered; and if he did not first throw open, had expanded wide the doors of that region of metaphysical inquiry which others would hereafter tread with bolder steps. Questions which he touched with holy dread were soon to be vexed by ruder hands. Reason had received an admission which, however timidly, she would never cease to assert.

It may appear at first singular that the thought which suggested itself to the mind of a monk at Bec should still be the problem of metaphysical theology; and theology must, when followed out, become meta-

[r] "Neque enim quæro intelligere, ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam. Nam et hoc credo, quia nisi credidero, non intelligam."—Prolog., c. iv. "Gratias tibi, bone Domine, gratias tibi: quia quod prius credidi te donante; jam sic intelligo te illuminante, ut si te esse nolim credere, non possem non intelligere."

physical; metaphysics must become theological. This same thought seems, with no knowledge of its mediæval origin, to have forced itself on Descartes, was reasserted by Leibnitz, if not rejected was thought insufficient by Kant, revived in another form by Schelling and by Hegel; latterly has been discussed with singular fulness and ingenuity by M. de Rémusat. Yet will it less surprise the more profoundly reflective, who cannot but perceive how soon and how inevitably the mind arrives at the verge of human thought; how it cannot but encounter this same question, which in another form divided in either avowed or unconscious antagonism, Plato and Aristotle, Anselm and his opponents (for opponents he had of no common subtlety), Leibnitz and Locke; which Kant failed to reconcile; which his followers have perhaps bewildered by a new and intricate phraseology more than elucidated; which modern eclecticism harmonises rather in seeming than in reality; the question of questions; our primary, elemental, it may be innate or instinctive, or acquired and traditional, idea, conception, notion, conviction of God, of the Immaterial, the Eternal, the Infinite.

Anselm, at first by his secluded monastic habits, afterwards on account of his dignity as Archbishop of Canterbury, and the part which he was compelled to take in the quarrel about investitures in England, either shrunk from or stood above the personal conflicts which involved other metaphysicians in active hostilities. Yet, however the schools might already have been startled by theories of alarming import (the more alarming, since few could foresee their ultimate end), so far, without doubt, in all these conflicts between the intellectual and religious development of man, in these first insurrections against the autocracy of the Church.

as regards its power over the public mind, the Church had come forth triumphant. Its adversaries had been awed, it might be into sullen and reluctant silence, yet still into silence. Even in the strife between Abélard and St. Bernard it seemed to maintain the same superiority.

The life of Abélard, contrasted with that of St. Bernard, gives, as it were, the full measure and perfect image of the time in its intellectual as in its religious development.

Peter Abélard was a Breton (a native of Palais, about four leagues from Nantes). In him were centered the characteristics of that race,[a] the uncontrollable impetuosity, the individuality which delighted in isolation from the rest of mankind, the self-confidence which swelled into arrogance, the perseverance which hardened into obstinacy, the quickness and fertility which were speedily fostered into a passion for disputation. His education ripened with unexampled rapidity his natural character. No man is so overbearing or so stubborn as a successful disputant; and very early in life Abélard became the most powerful combatant in the intellectual tilting matches of the schools, which had now become one of the great fashions of the day. His own words show the singular analogy between the two paths of distinction open to aspiring youth. "I preferred," said Abélard, "the strife of disputations to the trophies of war." Skill in dialectics became to the young churchman what the management of the lance and of the courser was to the knight. He descended into the lists, and challenged all comers; and those lists,

Abélard born A.D. 1079.

[a] On Abélard, see above all his own works (the first volume of a new edition has appeared by M. Cousin), more especially the Historia Calamitatum and the Letters. The Sic et Non edited, with reservations, by M. Cousin; more completely by Henke. — Rousselot, Études; C. de Rémusat, Abélard.

in the peaceful conventual schools, were watched with almost as absorbing interest by spectators hardly less numerous. Before the age of twenty Abélard had wandered through great part of France as an errant logician, and had found no combatant who could resist his prowess. He arrived in Paris, where the celebrated William of Champeaux was at the height of his fame. The schools of Paris, which afterwards expanded into that renowned University, trembled at the temerity of the youth who dared to encounter that veteran in dialectic warfare, whose shield had been so long untouched, and who had seemed secure in his all acknowledged puissance. Abélard in a short time was the pupil, the rival, the conqueror, and of course an object of implacable animosity to the vanquished chieftain of the schools. To have been the master of Abélard might seem, indeed, to insure his rebellion. He seized at once on the weak parts of his teacher's system, and in his pride of strength scrupled not to trample him in the dust. Abélard had once been the pupil of Roscelin; he denounced, refuted Nominalism. He was now the hearer of William of Champeaux; the peculiar Realism which William taught met with no more respect. Notwithstanding the opposition of his master, he set up a rival school, first, under the favour of the Court, at Melun, afterwards at Corbeil, nearer Paris. A domestic cause, the invitation of his beloved mother, sent him back to Brittany, where he remained some short time. On his return he renewed the attempt to dethrone William of Champeaux, and succeeded in drawing off all his scholars. The philosopher, in disgust at his empty hall, retired into a brotherhood of black canons. Abélard assumed his chair. The Court interest, and perhaps the violence of some older and still

About A.D. 1100.

William of Champeaux.

faithful disciples of William of Champeaux, expelled him from his usurped seat. He retired again to Melun, and re-established his rival school. But on the final retirement of William of Champeaux from Paris, Abélard returned to the city; and notwithstanding that William himself came back to support his appointed successor, a general desertion of his pupils left Abélard in undisputed supremacy. William of Champeaux was consoled for his discomfiture by the Bishopric of Châlons.

But there was one field alone for the full, complete, and commanding development of dialectic skill, which had now to a certain extent drawn itself apart into a distinct and separate camp: philosophy was no longer, as with Anselm, one with divinity. That field was theology. This was the single, all-engrossing subject, which the disputant could not avoid, and which alone, through the Church or the monastery, led to permanent fame, repose, wealth, or power. As yet Abélard had kept prudently aloof, as far as was possible, from that sacred and uncongenial domain. For Abélard had no deep devotional training, no severe discipline, no habits of submission. He might aspire remotely to the dignity, honour, or riches of the churchman, but he had nothing of the hierarchical spirit, no reverence for rigid dogmatic orthodoxy; he stood alone in his conscious strength, consorted not intimately with the ecclesiastics, espoused not ostentatiously their interests, perhaps betrayed contempt of their ignorance. Of the monk he had still less; whatever love of solitude he might indulge, was that of philosophic contemplation, not of religious or mystic meditation. His place in the convent was not the chapel at midnight or before the break of morning; his was not either the richly-intoned voice swelling the full harmony of the choir, or the

Abélard a theologian.

tender orison of the humble and weeping penitent. Of his fasts, of his mortifications, of his self-torture, nothing is heard. His place is in the adjacent school, where he is perplexing his antagonists with his dexterous logic, or losing them with himself in the depths of his subtle metaphysics. Yet the fame at least of theologic erudition is necessary to crown his glory; he must be profoundly learned, as well as irresistibly argumentative. He went to Laon to study under Anselm, the most renowned theologian of his day. The fame of this Anselm survives only in the history of Abélard—lost, perhaps, in that of his greater namesake, now dead for many years. With more than his characteristic temerity and arrogance, he treated Anselm even less respectfully than he had treated William of Champeaux. He openly declared the venerable divine to owe his fame to his age rather than to his ability or knowledge. Abélard began at once to lecture in opposition to his master on the Prophet Ezekiel. His renown was now at its height; there was no branch of knowledge on which Abélard did not believe himself, and was not believed, competent to give the fullest instruction. Not merely did all Paris and the adjacent districts throng to his school, but there was no country so remote, no road so difficult, but that the pupils defied the toils and perils of the way From barbarous Anjou, from Poitou, Gascony, and Spain, from Normandy, Flanders, Germany, Swabia, from England notwithstanding the terrors of the sea, scholars of all ranks and classes crowded to Paris. Even Rome, the great teacher of the world in all arts and sciences, acknowledged the superior wisdom of Abélard, and sent her sons to submit to his discipline.

The romance of Abélard's life commenced when it usually begins to languish in others; that romance, so

singularly displaying the manners, habits, and opinions of the time, becomes grave history. He was nearer forty than thirty when the passions of youth, which had hitherto been controlled by habits of severe study, came upon him with sudden and unresisted violence. No religious scruples seem to have interposed. The great philosopher, though as yet only an ecclesiastic in dignity, and destined for the sacred function, a canon of the Church, calmly determines to reward himself for his long continence. Yet his fastidious feelings loathed the more gross and vulgar sensualities. His studies had kept him aloof from the society of high-born ladies; yet, as he asserts, and as Heloisa in the fervour of her imagination scruples not to confirm his assertion, there was no female, however noble in birth or rank, or spotless in fame, who would have scrupled to receive the homage and reward the love of Abélard. Though Abélard was looking out, like a gallant knight, for a mistress of his affections, there was nothing chivalrous or reverential in his passion for Heloisa. He deliberately planned the seduction of this maiden, who was no less distinguished for her surpassing beauty than for her wonderful talents and knowledge. He offered to board in the house of her uncle, the Canon Fulbert, in order that he might cultivate to the utmost the mind of this accomplished damsel. The avarice and vanity of the uncle were equally tempted; without suspicion he made over his niece to the absolute authority of the teacher, permitting him even to inflict personal chastisement.

Heloisa.

Abélard's new passion only developed more fully his wonderful faculties. The philosopher and theologian became a poet and a musician. The lovers made no attempt at the concealment of their mutual attachment. All Paris admired the beautiful amatory verses of Abé-

lard, which were allowed to transpire; and Heloisa, in the deep devotion of her love, instead of shrinking from the breath of public fame, thought herself an object of envy to all her sex. The Canon Fulbert alone was ignorant that he had entrusted, in Abélard's own words, "his spotless lamb to a ravening wolf." When the knowledge was at last forced upon him, Heloisa fled with her lover, and in the house of his sister in Brittany, gave birth to a son, whom he called by the philosophic name of Astrolabius.[t] The indignant Canon insisted on the reparation of his family honour by marriage. Abélard consented; Heloisa alone, in an absolute, unrivalled spirit of self-devotion, so wonderful that we forget to reprove, resisted; she used every argument, every appeal to the pride, the honour, even to the love of Abélard, which are usually urged to enforce that atonement, to dissuade her lover from a step so fatal to his fame and his advancement. As a philosopher Abélard would be trammelled by the vulgar cares of a family; as a churchman his career of advancement, which might soar to the highest place, was checked at once and for ever. Moral impediments might be got over, canonical objections were insuperable; he might stand above all but the inexorable laws of the Church through his transcendent abilities. Though she had been, though she might be still his mistress, she did not thereby incapacitate him for any high dignity; as his wife she closed against him that ascending ladder of ecclesiastical honours, the priorate, the abbacy, the bishopric, the metropolitanate, the

[t] M. Cousin (Nouveaux Fragments Philosophiques, vol. ii.) has published a long Latin poem addressed to his son by Abélard. It is in part a versification of the Book of Proverbs. Of the life of Astrolabius nothing is known. M. Cousin found this singular name in the list of the abbots of a monastery in Switzerland, of a date which agrees with the age of Abélard's son.

cardinalate, and even that which was beyond and above all. There was no place to which Abélard, as her heart and mind assured her the first of men, might not reasonably, rightfully aspire, and was his Heloisa to stand in his way?[u] These were the arguments of Heloisa herself: this is a heroism of self abnegation incredible in any but a deeply-loving woman; and even in her so rare as to be matter of astonishment.

Marriage.

The fears or the remorse of Abélard were stronger than the reasonings of Heloisa. He endeavoured to appease the injured uncle by a secret marriage, which took place at Paris. But the secret was soon divulged by the wounded pride and the vanity of Fulbert. Heloisa, still faithful to her lover's least wishes and interests, denied the marriage; and Abélard removed her to the nunnery of Argenteuil. There, in all but taking the veil and in receiving his stolen visits, which did not respect the sanctity of the place, her sweetness, her patience, her piety, her conformity to all the rules, won her the universal respect and esteem.

Fulbert still suspected, he might well suspect, that Abélard intended to compel his wife to take the veil, and so release him from the ties of wedlock. His revenge was that of the most exquisite and ingenious malice, as well as of the most inhuman cruelty. It aimed at blasting the ambition, as well as punishing the lust of its victim. By his mutilation (for in this respect the canon law strictly followed that of Leviticus) Abélard might, he thought, be for ever disqualified

Mutilation. A.D. 1119.

[u] Her whole soul is expressed in the quotation from Lucan, uttered, it is said, when she entered the cloister at Argenteuil:—

"O maxime conjux!
O thalamis indigne meis. Hoc juris habebat
In tantum fortuna caput? Cur impia nupsi;
Si miserum factura fui? Nunc accipe pœnas,
Sed quas sponte luam."

Noble, but not nunlike lines!

for ecclesiastical honours. The punishment of Abélard's barbarous enemies, of Fulbert and his accomplices, which was demanded by the public voice, and inflicted by the civil power, could not console; the general commiseration could only aggravate his misery and despair. He threw himself, at first determined to shun the sight of the world, into the monastery of St. Denys; Heloisa, still passive to his commands, took the veil at Argenteuil. But even to the end the fervent affections of Heloisa were hardly transferred to holier and more spiritual objects; religion, when it became a passion, might soften, it could not efface from her heart, that towards Abélard.

In St. Denys.

The fame of Abélard, and his pride and ungovernable soul, still pursued him; his talents retained their vigour; his temper was unsubdued. The monastery of St. Denys was dissolute. Abélard became a severe reformer; he rebuked the abbot and the whole community for their lax discipline, their unexemplary morals. He retired to a private cell, and near it opened a school. So great was the concourse of scholars, that lodging and provision could not be found for the countless throng. On the one side was an object of the most excessive admiration, on the other of the most implacable hatred. His enemies urged the bishop of the province to interdict his lectures, as tainted with secular learning unbecoming a monk. His disciples, with more dangerous adulation, demanded of the great teacher the satisfaction of their reason on the highest points of theology, which they could no longer receive in simple faith. They would no longer be blind leaders of the blind, nor pretend to believe what they did not clearly comprehend.[x]

[x] "Nec credi posse aliquid, nisi primitus intellectum, et ridiculosum esse aliquem aliis prædicare, quod nec ipse, nec illi quos doceret, intellectu caperet."—Abélard, Oper.

Abélard composed a theological treatise, in which he discussed the awful mystery of the Trinity in Unity.

His enemies were on the watch. Two of his old discomfited antagonists at Laon, named Alberic and Litolf, denounced him before Rodolph Archbishop of Rheims, and Conon Bishop of Præneste, the Legate of the Pope. He was summoned to appear before a Council at Soissons. A rumour was spread abroad that he asserted that there were three Gods. He hardly escaped being stoned by the populace. But no one ventured to cope with the irresistible logician. Abélard offered his book; not a voice was raised to arraign it. The prudent and friendly Godfrey, Bishop of Chartres, demanded a fair hearing for Abélard; he was answered by a general cry that the whole world could not disentangle his sophisms. The Council was drawing to a close. The enemies of Abélard persuaded the Archbishop and the Legate, who were unlettered men and weary of the whole debate, to command the book to be burned, and the author to be punished by seclusion in a monastery for his intolerable presumption in writing and lecturing on such subjects without the authority of the Pope and of the Church. This was a simple and summary proceeding. Abélard was compelled to throw his book into the fire with his own hands, and, weeping at the loss of his labours, to recite aloud the Athanasian creed. He was then sent, as to a prison, to the convent of St. Médard, but before long was permitted to return to his cell at St. Denys.

Council of Soissons. A.D. 1121.

His imprudent passion for truth plunged him in a new calamity. He ventured to question, from a passage in Bede, whether the patron saint of the abbey was indeed the Dionysius of St. Paul, the famous Areopagite. The monks had hardly endured

St. Denys.

his remonstrances against their dissolute lives; when he questioned the authenticity of their saint, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that Bede was an incorrigible liar, Abélard a sacrilegious heretic. Their founder had travelled in Greece, and brought home irrefragable proofs that their St. Denys was the convert of St. Paul. It was not the honour of the monastery alone which was now at stake, but that of the whole realm. Abélard was denounced as guilty of treasonable impiety against France by thus deposing her great tutelar saint. The vengeance of the King was invoked against him. Abélard fled. Both he and the prior of a monastery near Troyes, who was so rash as to be one of his believers, were threatened with excommunication. The blow so shocked the Abbot of St. Denys (he was said indeed to have broken his constitution by intemperance) that he died, and thus relieved Abélard from one of his most obstinate and bitter enemies. The Court was appeased, and through the royal interest, Abélard was permitted to withdraw to a more peaceful solitude.

After some delay Abélard availed himself of the royal permission; he found a wild retreat, near the small river Ardrissan, not far from Troyes. There, like the hermits of old, he built his solitary cabin of osiers and of thatch. But the sanctity of Antony or of Benedict, or of the recent founder of the Cistercian order, was not more attractive than the cell of the philosopher. Abélard, thus degraded in the eyes of men and in his own estimation by his immorality and by its punishment, branded with the suspicion of heresy by a council of the Church, with a reputation for arrogance and an intractable temper, which brought discord wherever he went, an outcast of society rather than a world-wearied anchorite, had nevertheless lost none of his influence

The desert was peopled around him by his admiring scholars; they left the castle and the city to dwell in the wilderness; for their lofty palaces they built lowly hovels; for their delicate viands they fed on bread and wild herbs; instead of soft beds they reposed contentedly on straw and chaff. Abélard proudly adapted to himself the words of Scripture, "Behold, the whole world is gone after him; by our persecution we have prevailed nothing, we have but increased his glory." A monastery arose, which had hardly space in its cells for the crowding votaries; Abélard called it by the name of the Paraclete—a name which, for its novelty and seeming presumption, gave new offence to his multiplying enemies.[y]

A.D. 1122, 1125.

But it was not the personal hatred alone which Abélard had excited by his haughty tone and vituperative language, or even by his daring criticism of old legends. His whole system of teaching, the foundation, and discipline, and studies, in the Paraclete, could not but be looked upon with alarm and suspicion. This new philosophic community, a community at least bound together by no religious vow and governed by no rigid monastic rules, in which the profoundest and most awful mysteries of religion were freely discussed, in which the exercises were those of the school rather than of the cloister, and dialectic disputations rather than gloomy ascetic practices the occupation, awoke the vigilant jealousy of the two great reformers of the age, Norbert, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, whose great achievement had been the subjection of the regular canons to a severer rule, and Bernard, whose abbey of Clairvaux was the model of

The Paraclete.

y Opp. Abélard, Epist. i. p. 28.

the most rigorous, most profoundly religious monastic life. The founder of the Paraclete was at least a formidable rival, if not a dangerous antagonist. Abélard afterwards scornfully designated these two adversaries as the new apostles; but they were the apostles of the ancient established faith, himself that of the new school, the heresy, not less fearful because undefinable, of free inquiry. Neither Norbert nor Bernard probably comprehended the full tendency of this premature intellectual movement, but they had an instinctive apprehension of its antagonism to their own power and influence, as well as to the whole religious system, which had now full possession of the human mind. There was as yet no declaration of war, no direct accusation, no summons to answer specific charges before council or legate; but that worse hostility of secret murmurs, of vague suspicions spread throughout Christendom, of solemn warnings, of suggested fears. Abélard, in all his pride, felt that he stood alone, an object of universal suspicion; he could not defend himself against this unseen, unaggressive warfare; he was as a man reported to be smitten with the plague, from whom the sound and healthy shrunk with an instinctive dread, and who had no power of forcing an examination of his case. His overweening haughtiness broke down into overweening dejection. He was so miserable that in his despair he thought seriously of taking refuge beyond the borders of Christendom, of seeking elsewhere that quiet which was refused him by Christian hostility, to live as a Christian among the declared foes of Christianity.[1]

[1] "Sæpe autem, Deus scit, in tantam lapsus sum desperationem, ut Christianorum finibus excessis, ad gentes transire disponerem, atque ibi quietè sub quacunque *tributi pactione* inter inimicos Christi Christianè vivere." Does not the *tribute* point to some Mohammedan country? Had Abélard heard of the learning of the Arabs?—Hist. Calamit.

Whether from personal respect, or the national pride of the Bretons in their distinguished countryman, he was offered the dignity of Abbot in a monastery on the coast of Brittany in Morbihan, that of St. Gildas de Rhuys. It was a bleak and desolate region, the monks as rude and savage as the people, even the language was unknown to Abélard. There, on the very verge of the world, on the shores of the ocean, Abélard sought in vain for quiet. The monks were as lawless in life as in manners; there was no common fund, yet Abélard was expected to maintain the buildings and religious services of the community. Each monk spent his private property on his wife or his concubine. Abélard, always in extremes, endeavoured to submit this rugged brotherhood to the discipline of a Norbert or a Bernard; but rigour in an abbot who knows not how to rouse religious enthusiasm is resented as tyranny. Among the wild monks of St. Gildas the life of Abélard was in constant peril. From their obtuse and ignorant minds his wonderful gifts and acquirements commanded no awe; they were utterly ignorant of his learned language; they hated his strictness and even his piety. Violence threatened him without the walls, treachery within. They tried to poison him; they even drugged the cup of the Holy Eucharist. A monk who had tasted food intended for him died in agony. The Abbot extorted oaths of obedience, he excommunicated, he tried to the utmost the authority of his office. He was obliged at length to take refuge in a cell remote from the monastery with a very few of the better monks; there he was watched by robbers hired to kill him.

Abélard at St. Gildas in Brittany. A.D. 1125-6.

The deserted Paraclete in the mean time had been re-occupied by far different guests. Heloisa had lived

in blameless dignity as the prioress of Argenteuil. The rapacious monks of St. Denys, to whom Argenteuil belonged, expelled the nuns and resumed the property of the convent. The Paraclete, abandoned by Abélard's scholars, and falling into decay, offered to Heloisa an honourable retreat with her sisters; she took possession of the vacant cells. A correspondence began with the abbot of St. Gildas. Abélard's history of his calamities, that most naked and unscrupulous autobiography, re-awakened the soft but melancholy reminiscences of the abbess of the Paraclete. Those famous letters were written, in which Heloisa dwells with such touching and passionate truth on her yet unextinguished affection. Age, sorrow, his great calamity, his persecutions, his exclusive intellectual studies, perhaps some real religious remorse, have frozen the springs of Abélard's love, if his passion may be dignified with that holy name. In him all is cold, selfish, almost coarse; in Heloisa the tenderness of the woman is chastened by the piety of the saint: much is still warm, almost passionate, but with a deep sadness in which womanly, amorous regret is strangely mingled with the strongest language of religion.

The monastery of St. Gildas seemed at length to have been reduced to order; but when peace surrounded Abélard, Abélard could not be at peace. He is again before the world, again in the world; again committed, and now in fatal strife with his great and unforgiving adversary. His writings had now obtained popularity, as wide spread, and perilous, as his lectures and his disputations. Abélard, it might seem, in desperation provoked the contest with that adversary in his stronghold. He challenged Bernard before kings and prelates whom Bernard ruled with irresistible sway; he entered

the lists against authority where authority was supreme —in a great Council. At issue with the deep devotional spirit of the age, he chose his time when all minds were excited by the most solemn action of devotion—the Crusade: he appealed to reason when reason was least likely to be heard.

June 2, 1140.

A Council had been summoned at Sens for a religious ceremony which more than all others roused the passions of local and national devotion—the translation of the body of the patron saint. The king, Louis VII., the Counts of Nevers and Champagne, a train of nobles, and all the prelates of the realm were to be present. Before this audience Abélard dared his adversary to make good his charges of heresy, by which it was notorious that Bernard and his monks had branded his writings. Bernard himself must deliver his opinion of Abélard's writings in his own words: he is a witness as well to their extensive dissemination as to their character in the estimation of the clergy and of the monks. "These books of Abélard are flying abroad all over the world; they no longer shun the light; they find their way into castles and cities; they pass from land to land, from one people to another. A new gospel is promulgated, a new faith is preached. Disputations are held on virtue and vice not according to Christian morality; on the Sacraments of the Church not according to the rule of faith; on the mystery of the Trinity not with simplicity and soberness. This huge Goliath, with his armour-bearer Arnold of Brescia, defies the armies of the Lord to battle!"[a] Yet so great was the estimation of Abélard's powers that Bernard at first shrunk from the contest. "How

St. Bernard.

[a] Epist. ad Innocent. Papam.

should an unpractised stripling like himself, unversed in logic, meet the giant who was practised in every kind of debate?" He consented at length to appear, not as the accuser, only as a witness against Abélard. But already he had endeavoured to influence the court; he had written to the bishops of France about to assemble at Sens rebuking their remissness, by which this wood of heresies, this harvest of errors, had been allowed to grow up around the spouse of Christ. The words of Abélard cannot be cited to show his estimation of Bernard. Outwardly he had even shown respect to Bernard. On a visit of friendly courtesy to the neighbouring abbess of the Paraclete a slight variation in the service had offended Bernard's rigid sense of ecclesiastical unity. Abélard, with temper but with firmness, defended the change.[b] But the quiet and bitter irony of his disciple, who described the contest, may be accepted as an unquestionable testimony to his way of speaking in his esoteric circle and among his intimate pupils, of the even now almost canonised saint. "Already has winged fame dispersed the odour of thy sanctity throughout the world, vaunted thy merits, declaimed on thy miracles. We boasted of the felicity of our present age, glorified by the light of so brilliant a star; we thought that the world, doomed to perdition, continued to subsist only through your merits; we knew that on your will depended the mercy of heaven,

[b] The question was the clause in the Lord's Prayer, "our daily bread," or "our bread day by day." This letter commences in a tone almost of deference; but Abélard soon resumes his language of superiority. What he says on the greater degree of authority to be ascribed to St. Matthew's Gospel over that of St. Luke is totally at variance with the notion of plenary inspiration. He asserts, from Augustine, Gregory the Great, and even Gregory VII., that usage must give way to reason; and retorts very curiously on the innovations introduced by Bernard himself into the ordinary services.

the temperature of the air, the fertility of the earth, the blessing of its fruits. . . . . Thou hadst lived so long, thou hadst given life to the Church through so many holy institutions, that the very devils were thought to roar at thy behest; and we, in our littleness, boasted of our blessedness under a patron of such power."[c] Bernard and his admirers might well hate the man whose scholars were thus taught to despise that popular superstition which beheld miracles in all his works.

Council of Sens.

With these antagonistic feelings, and this disparaging estimate each of the other, met the two great champions. In Bernard the Past and the Present concentered all their powers and influences, the whole strength of the sacerdotal, ceremonial, inflexibly dogmatic, imaginative religion of centuries—the profound and submissive faith, the monastic austerity, the cowering superstition; he was the spiritual dictator of the age, above kings, prelates, even above the Pope; he was the model of holiness, the worker of perpetual wonders. Abélard cannot be accepted as a prophetic type of the Future. Free inquiry could only emancipate itself at a much later period by allying itself with a strong counter religious passion; it must oppose the strength of individual Christianity to the despotism of ecclesiastical religion. Abélard's religion (it were most unjust to question his religion) was but a colder form of the dominant faith; he was a monk, though against his own temperament and tone of feeling. But Abélard was pure intellect, utterly unimaginative, logical to the most naked precision, analytical to the minutest subtlety; even his devotion had no warmth; he ruled the mind, but touched no heart. At best therefore he was

[c] Berengarii Epist., in Abelard Oper., p. 303.

the wonder, Bernard the object of admiration, reverence, love, almost of adoration.

The second day of the Council (the first had been devoted to the solemn translation of the reliques) was appointed for this grand theological tournament. Not only the king, the nobles, the prelates of France, but all Christendom watched in anxious solicitude the issue of the conflict. Yet even before a tribunal so favourable, so pre-occupied by his own burning words, Bernard was awed into calmness and moderation. He demanded only that the most obnoxious passages should be read from Abélard's works. It was to his amazement, no less than that of the whole council, when Abélard, instead of putting forth his whole strength in a reply, answered only, "I appeal to Rome," and left the hall of Council. It is said, to explain this unexpected abandonment of the field by the bold challenger, that he was in danger of his life. At Sens, as before at Soissons, the populace were so exasperated at the daring heretic, who was reported to have impeached the doctrine of the Trinity, that they were ready to rise against him.[d] Bernard himself would hardly have interfered to save him from that summary refutation;[e] and Abélard, in the confidence of his own power and fame as a disputant, might perhaps expect Bernard to decline his challenge. He may have almost forgotten the fatal issue of the Council of Soissons; at a distance, in his retreat in Brittany, such a tribunal might appear less awful than when he saw it in undisguised and unappeased hostility before him. The Council may have been disappointed at this

[d] "Dum de suâ fide discuteretur, seditionem populi timens, apostolicæ sedis præsentiam appellavit."—Otho Freisingen, i. 46.

[e] "An non justius os loquens talia fustibus conderetur, quam rationibus repelleretur."—So writes Bernard, Epist. p. 1554.

sudden close of the spectacle which they were assembled to behold; but they were relieved from the necessity of judging between the conflicting parties. Bernard, in the heat and pride of his triumph, after having in vain, and with taunts, provoked his mute adversary, proceeded now in no measured language to pursue his victory. The martial and unlearned prelates vainly hoped that as they had lost the excitement of the fray, they might escape the trouble and fatigue of this profound theological investigation. But the inflexible Bernard would as little spare them as he would his adversary. The faithful disciple of Abélard describes with some touches of satire, but with reality which reads like truth, the close of this memorable day. The discomfited Abélard had withdrawn; his books were now produced, a person commanded to read aloud all the objectionable parts at full length in all their logical aridity. The bishops, as evening drew on, grew weary, and relieved their fatigue with wine. The wine and the weariness brought on sleep: the drowsy assembly sat, some leaning on their elbows, some with cushions under their heads, some with their heads dropping on their knees. At each pause they murmured sleepily "damnamus," we condemn, till at length some cut short the word and faintly breathed "namus." [t]

Abélard had appealed to Rome; at Rome his adversaries had prepared for his reception.

The report of the Council to Rome is in such terms as these: "Peter Abélard makes void the whole Christian faith by attempting to comprehend the nature of God through human reason. He ascends up into heaven, he goes down into hell. Nothing can elude him either

[t] Epist. Berengar. apud Abélard Oper.

in the height above or in the nethermost depths. A man great in his own eyes, disputing about faith against the faith, walking among the great and wonderful things which are above him, the searcher of the Divine Majesty, the fabricator of heresy. Already has his book on the Trinity been burned by order of one Council; it has now risen from the dead. Accursed is he that builds again the walls of Jericho. His branches spread over the whole earth; he boasts that he has disciples in Rome itself, even in the College of Cardinals; he draws the whole world after him; it is time therefore to silence him by apostolic authority."

An appeal from Bernard to Rome was an appeal from Bernard to himself. Pope Innocent II. was too completely under his influence, too deeply indebted to him not to confirm at once his sentence. Bernard had already filled the ears of the Pope with the heresies of Abélard. He urged, he almost commanded, the Pope to proceed to instant judgement. "Shall he venture to appeal to the throne of Peter who denies the faith of Peter? For what has God raised thee up, lowly as thou wert in thine own eyes, and placed thee above kings and nations? Not that thou shouldest destroy but that thou shouldest build up the faith. God has stirred up the fury of the schismatics that thou mightest have the glory of crushing it. This only was wanting to make thee equal to the most famous of thy predecessors, the condemnation of a heresy."[g] Bernard addressed another long controversial epistle to Innocent, and through him to all Christendom; it was the full view of Abélard's theology as it appeared to most of his own generation. He

Bernard's triumph.

g Apud Labbe, et Mansi, et in Oper. S. Bernardi.

inveighs against Abélard's dialectic theory of the Trinity, his definition of faith as opinion; his wrath is kindled to its most fiery language by the tenet which he ascribes to Abélard, that the Son of God had not delivered man by his death from the yoke of the devil; that Satan had only the permitted and temporary power of a jailor, not full sovereignty over mankind: in other words, that man had still free will; that Christ was incarnate rather to enlighten mankind by his wisdom and example, and died not so much to redeem them from slavery to the devil, as to show his own boundless love.[h] "Which is most intolerable, the blasphemy or the arrogance of his language? Which is most damnable, the temerity or the impiety? Would it not be more just to stop his mouth with blows than confute him by argument? Does not he whose hand is against every one, provoke the hand of every one against himself? All, he says, think thus, but I think otherwise! Who, then, art thou? What canst thou advance which is wiser, what hast thou discovered which is more subtile? What secret revelation canst thou boast which has escaped the saints and eluded the angels? . . . . Tell us what is this that thou alone canst see, that no one before thee hath seen? That the Son of God put on manhood for some purpose besides the deliverance of man from bondage. Assuredly this has been discovered by no one but by thee, and where hast thou discovered it? Thou hast received it neither from sage, nor prophet, nor apostle, nor from God himself. The apostle of the Gentiles received from God himself what he delivered

[h] "Ut dicat totum esse quod Deus in carne apparuit, nostram de vitâ et exemplo ipsius institutionem, sive ut postmodum dixit, instructionem: totum quod passus et mortuus est suæ erga nos charitatis ostensionem vel commendationem."—Epist. xcii. 1539.

to us. The apostle of the Gentiles declares that his doctrine comes from on high—'I speak not of myself.' But thou deliverest what is thine own, what thou hast not received. He who speaks of himself is a liar. Keep to thyself what comes from thyself. For me, I follow the prophets and the apostles. I obey the Gospel, but not the Gospel according to *Peter*. Thou makest thyself a fifth evangelist. What says the law, what say the prophets, what say the apostles, what say their successors, that which thou alone deniest, that God was made man to deliver man from bondage? What, then, if an angel should come from heaven to teach us the contrary, accursed be the error of that angel!"

Condemnation of Abélard at Rome.

Absent, unheard, unconvicted, Abélard was condemned by the Supreme Pontiff. The condemnation was uttered almost before the charge could be fully known. The decree of Innocent reproved all public disputations on the mysteries of religion. Abélard was condemned to silence; his disciples to excommunication.[1]

Abélard at Clugny.

Abélard had set out on his journey to Rome; he was stopped by severe illness, and found hospitable reception in the Abbey of Clugny. Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of that famous monastery, did more than protect the outcast to the close of his life. He had himself gone through the ordeal of a controversy with the fervent Bernard, though their controversy had been conducted in a milder and more Christian spirit. Yet the Abbot of the more luxurious or more polished Clugny might not be sorry to show a gentleness and compassion uncongenial to the more austere Clairvaux. He even wrought an outward recon-

[1] Apud Bernard, Epist. cxciv.

ciliation between the persecuted Abélard and the victorious Bernard. It was but an outward, a hollow reconciliation. Abélard published an apology, if apology it might be called, which accused his adversary of ignorance or of malice. The apology not merely repelled the charge of Arianism, Nestorianism, but even the slightest suspicion of such doctrines; and to allay the tender anxiety of Heloisa, who still took a deep interest in his fame and happiness, he sent her his creed, which might have satisfied the most austere orthodoxy. Even in the highest quarters, among the most distinguished prelates, there was at least strong compassion for Abélard, admiration for his abilities, perhaps secret indignation at the hard usage he had endured. Bernard knew that no less a person than Guido di Castello, afterwards Pope Cœlestine II., a disciple of Abélard, spoke of him at least with affection. To him Bernard writes, "He would not suppose that though Guido loved the man he could love his errors."[k] He suggests the peril of the contagion of such doctrines, and skilfully associates the name of Abélard with the most odious heresies. When he writes of the Trinity he has a savour of Arius; when of grace, of Pelagius; when of the person of Christ, of Nestorius. To the Cardinal Ivo he uses still stronger words—"Though a Baptist without in his austerities, he is a Herod within." Still for the last two years of his life Abélard found peace, honour, seclusion, in the Abbey of Clugny. He died at the age of sixty-three:[m]

[k] Epist. cxii.

[m] Peter writes to Pope Innocent in the name of Abélard: "Ut reliquos dies vitæ et senectutis suæ, qui fortasse non multi sunt, in Cluniacâ vestrâ eum consummare jubeatis, et ne a domo quam velut passer, ne a nido quem velut turtur se invenisse gaudet, aliquorum instantiâ aut expelli aut commoveri valeat."—Petri Venerab. Epist. ad Innocent.

Peter the Venerable communicated the tidings of his death to the still faithful Heloisa. His language may be contrasted with that of St. Bernard. "I never saw his equal for humility of manners and habits. St. Germanus was not more modest; nor St. Martin more poor. He allowed no moment to escape unoccupied by prayer, reading, writing, or dictation. The heavenly visitor surprised him in the midst of these holy works."[n] The remains of Abélard were transported to the Paraclete; an absolution obtained by Peter was deposited in his tomb; for twenty-one years the Abbess of the Paraclete mourned over her teacher, her lover, her husband; and then reposed by his side.

April 21, 1142. Death of Abélard.

The intellectual movement of Abélard, as far as any acknowledged and hereditary school, died with Abélard. Even his great principle, that which he asserted rather than consistently maintained—the supremacy of reason—that principle which Bernard and the high devotional Churchmen looked on with vague but natural apprehension as eventually fatal to authority, fell into abeyance. The schoolmen connected together, as it were, reason and authority. The influence remained, but neutralised. The Book of Sentences of Peter Lombard is but the "Sic et Non" of Abélard in a more cautious and reverential form. John of Salisbury, in his Polycraticus, is a manifest, if not avowed Conceptualist. The sagacious and prophetic jealousy of his adversaries seems to have had a more clear though instinctive perception of the remoter consequences of his doctrines than Abélard himself. Abélard the philosopher seems, notwithstanding his arrogance, to be perpetually sharing these apprehensions. He is at once the boldest and

[n] Petri Vener. Epist. ad Heloisam.

most timid of men; always striking out into the path of free inquiry, but never following it onward; he plunges back, as if afraid of himself, into blind and submissive orthodoxy. The remorse for his moral aberrations, shame and fear of the world, seem weighing upon his mind, and repressing its free energy. He is no longer the arrogant, overbearing despot of the school; church authority is compelling him to ungracious submission. In his Lectures, even in his later days, it is probable that he was bolder and less inconsequent; many of the sayings on which the heaviest charges of his adversaries rested, whether withdrawn or never there, are not to be found in his works: he disclaims altogether the Book of Sentences, which may have been the note-book of his opinions by some of his scholars. He limits the notion of inspiration to a kind of moral or religious influence; it belongs to those who are possessed with faith, hope, and charity. He is still more restrictive on the authority of the Fathers, and openly asserts their contradictions and errors. In his idolatry of the ancient philosophers, he compares their lives with those of the clergy of his day, to the disadvantage of the latter; places them far above the Jews, and those who lived under the Jewish dispensation; and gives them a dim, indeed, yet influential and saving knowledge of the Redeemer. When Bernard, therefore, confined himself to general charges, he might stand on strong ground; when he denounced the theology of Abélard as respecting no mystery, as rashly tearing away rather than gently lifting the veil from the holiest things, of rushing into the sanctuary, and openly disdaining to believe what it could not make pervious to the understanding.[o] But when he

[o] Epist. ad Episcop. 137, 138.

began to define his charges, he was betrayed into exaggeration and injustice. No two great minds were probably less capable of comprehending each other. Some of the gravest charges rest on works which Abélard never wrote, some on obvious misconceptions, some on illustrations assumed to be positions; all perverted into close assimilation or identification with the condemned and hated ancient heresies.

The mature and peculiar philosophy of Abélard, but for its love for barren logical forms, and this dreaded worship of reason, his Conceptualism, might in itself not merely have been reconciled with the severest orthodoxy, but might have opened a safe intermediate ground between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the Realism of Anselm and William of Champeaux. As the former tended to a sensuous rationalism, so the latter to a mystic pantheism. If everything but the individual was a mere name, then knowledge shrunk into that which was furnished by the senses alone. When Nominalism became Theology, the three persons of the Trinity (this was the perpetual touchstone of all systems), if they were more than words, were individuals, and Tritheism inevitable. On the other hand, God, the great Reality, absorbed into himself all other Realities; they became part of God; they became God. This was the more immediate danger; the deepest devotion became Mysticism, and resolved everything into God. Mysticism in Europe, as in India, melted into Pantheism. The Conceptualism of Abélard, allowing real existence to universals, but making those universals only cognisable as mental conceptions to the individual, might be in danger of falling into Sabellianism. The three persons would be but three manifestations of the Deity; a distinction only perceptible to the mind might

seem to be made to the mind alone. Yet, on the other hand, as the perception of a spiritual Deity can only be through the mind or the spirit, the mystery might seem more profound according to this view, which, while it repudiated the materialising tendencies of the former system, by its more clear and logical Idealism kept up the strong distinction between God and created things, between the human and divine mind, the all-pervading soul—and the soul of man.[p]

There is one treatise, indeed, the famous "Sic et Non," which has been recovered in the present day, and if of itself taken as the exposition of Abélard's philosophical theology, might, though written under the semblance of profound reverence for antiquity, even from its form and title, have startled an age less devotional, less under the bondage of authority. In this treatise Abélard propounds all the great problems of religion, with the opinions, the conflicting opinions, of the Fathers; at times he may seem disposed to establish a friendly harmony, at others they are committed in irreconcileable strife. It is a history of the antagonism and

p The real place which Abélard's Conceptualism (if, as I think, it has its place) holds between the crude Nominalism of Roscelin, and the mysticism, if not mystic Realism, of William of Champeaux, belongs to the history of philosophy rather than of Christianity. M. Cousin denies to Abélard any intermediate ground. On the other hand, a writer, who in my judgement sometimes writes rather loosely, at others with much sagacity, M. Xavier Rousselot, finds a separate and independent position in philosophy and in theology for the system of Abélard. Abelard certainly must have deceived himself if he was no more than a concealed Nominalist. See the summary of Abélard's opinions in Haureau, de la Philosophie Scolastique. M. Haureau defines Abélard's Conceptualism as a "Nominalisme raisonnable. La philosophie d'Abélard est la philosophie de la prudence, la philosophie du sens commun." If I may presume to say so, Abélard was less led to this intermediate position by his own prudence, than by his keen sagacity in tracing the consequences of Nominalism and extreme Realism. See also C. de Rémusat, Abélard.

inward discord, of the disunity of the Church. Descartes himself did not establish the principle of doubt as the only source of true knowledge more coldly and nakedly, or more offensively to his own age from its cautious justification in the words of him who is all truth.[q] If Bernard knew this treatise, it explains at once all Bernard's implacable hostility; to himself, no doubt, the suppression of such principles would justify any means of coercion, almost any departure from ordinary rules of fairness and justice. It is nothing that to the calmer judgement the "Sic et Non" by no means fulfils its own promise, that it is far more harmless to the devout than it threatens to be; far less satisfactory to the curious and speculative: it must be taken in its spirit, to estimate the rude shock it must have given to the yet unawakened, or but half-awakened mind of Christendom: so only can a judgement be formed on the real controversy between the Founder of the Paraclete and the Abbot of Clairvaux.[r]

[q] "Dubitare enim de singulis non erit inutile. Dubitando enim ad inquisitionem venimus; inquirendo veritatem percipimus, juxta quos et Veritas ipsa 'quærite et invenietis, pulsate et aperietur vobis.'"—Prolog. ad Sic et Non.

[r] M. Cousin has only printed parts of the Sic et Non. But he has given the heads of the chapters omitted, many of which more provoke the curiosity than those which he has chosen. The whole Sic et Non has now been printed at Marburg from another manuscript (at Munich), by Henke and Lindenkohl, Marburg, 1851. Father Tosti, a monk of Monte Casino, author of a life or apology for Boniface VIII. (hereafter to be quoted), has published a life of Abelard, written with more candour than might be expected from such a quarter. He was urged to this work by finding in the archives of Monte Casino MSS. containing unpublished fragments of Abelard's Theologia Christiana, and of the Sic et Non, of which he had only seen concise extracts.

In fact, the Sic et Non is nothing but a sort of manual for scholastic disputation, of which it was the rule that each combatant must fight, right or wrong. It was an armoury from which disputants would find weapons to their hands on any disputable point; and all points by the rule of this warfare were disputable.

CHAPTER VI.

Arnold of Brescia.

BERNARD had triumphed over the intellectual insurrection against the authority of the Church; but there was a rebellion infinitely more dangerous, at least in its immediate consequences, brooding in the minds of men: the more formidable because more popular, the more imminent because it appealed at once to the passions and the plain vulgar sense of man. To judge from the number of his disciples, Abélard's was a popular movement; that of Arnold was absolutely, avowedly democratic; it raised a new class of men, and to them transferred at once power, authority, wealth. There was an ostensible connexion between these two outbursts of freedom, which at first sight might appear independent of, almost incongruous with, each other, except in their common hostility to the hierarchical system. Arnold of Brescia was a hearer of Abélard, a pupil in his revolutionary theology or revolutionary philosophy, and aspired himself to a complete revolution in civil affairs: he was called, as has been seen, the armour-bearer of the giant Abélard. The two were even more nearly allied in their kindred origin. Monasticism was the common parent of both. The theory of monasticism, which was acknowledged even by most of the clergy themselves to be the absolute perfection of Christianity, its true philosophy, was in perpetual and glaring contradiction with the actual visible state of the clergy and

of the older and wealthier monasteries. This theory was the total renunciation of the world, of property, even of volition; it was the extreme of indigence, the scantiest fare, the coarsest dress, the lowliest demeanour, the hardest toil, both in the pursuits of industry and in the offices of religion; the short and interrupted sleep, the incessant devotional exercise, usually the most severe self-inflicted pain. The poorer, the more mortified, the more secluded, the more absolutely cut off from all indulgence, the nearer to sanctity. Nor was this a remote, obsolete, traditionary theory. Every new aspirant after monastic perfection, every founder of an order, and of every recent monastery, exemplified, or he would never have founded an order or built a monastery, this poor, self-abasing, self-excruciating holiness. Stephen Harding, Bernard and his followers, and all who lived up to their principles in their own persons, to those around them and by their widespread fame, stood before the world not merely as beacon-lights of true Christianity, but as uttering a perpetual protest, a rebuke against the lordly, rich, and luxurious prelates and abbots. Their vital principles, their principles of action were condemnatory of ecclesiastical riches. "It is just," writes St. Bernard, "that he who serves the altar should live of the altar; but it is not to live of the altar to indulge luxury and pride at the expense of the altar: this is robbery, this is sacrilege."[a] The subtle, by no means obvious, distinction, that the wealth of the Church

[a] "Concedatur ergo tibi ut si bene deservis de altario vivas, non autem ut de altario luxurieris, ut de altario superbias, ut inde compares tibi frena aurea, sellas depictas, calcearia deargentata, varia grisiaque pellicia a collo et manibus ornatu purpureo diversifacta. Denique quicquid præter necessarium victum ac simplicem vestitum de altario retineas tuum non est, impium est, sacrilegum est."—Bernard, Epist. ad Fulcon.

was the wealth of God;[b] that the patrimony of the Papacy was not in the Pope, but in St. Peter, and of every other church in its patron saint; that not merely the churches, but the conventual edifices, with all their offices, stables, granaries, and gardens (wanting, perhaps, to the noblest castle), were solely for the glory of God, not for the use and pride of man; that the clergy on their palfreys with golden bits, and embroidered housings, and silver spurs, and furred mantles of scarlet or purple, were not men, but ministers of God; this convenient merging of the individual in the official character, while the individual enjoyed personally all the admiration, envy, respect, comfort, luxury, influence of his station, might satisfy the conscience of those whose conscience desired to be satisfied, but was altogether unintelligible to the common sense of mankind. The more devout abbots and prelates, some doubtless of the Popes, might wear the haircloth under the robe of purple and of fur; they might sit at the gorgeous banquet tasting only the dry bread or simple vegetable; after the pomp and ceremony of some great day of temporal or ecclesiastical business, might pass the night on the rough board or the cold stone, or on their knees in the silent church, unobserved by men: the outward show of pride or luxury might be secretly repressed or chastened by the most austere fast, by the bloody penitential scourge. But mankind judges, if unjustly towards individuals, justly perhaps of systems and institutions, from the outward and manifest effects. A clergy with an ostentatious display of luxury and wealth was to them a wealthy and luxurious clergy—a clergy which was always grasp-

[b] "Saltem quæ Dei sunt *ipsius* violenter auferre nolite."—Epist. Nicol I. ad Aquitan. apud Bouquet, p. 416.

ing after power, an ambitious clergy. Who could question, who refuse to see the broad irresistible fact of this discrepancy between the monastic theory, constantly preached and lauded in their ears, to which they were to pay, to which they were not disinclined to pay, respect bordering on adoration, and the ordinary actual Christianity of the great ecclesiastical body? If poverty was apostolic, if poverty was of Christ himself, if the only real living likenesses of the Apostles and of Christ were the fasting, toiling, barely-clad, self-scourging monks, with their cheeks sunk by famine, their eyes on the ground, how far from the Apostles, how far from Christ, were those princely bishops, those abbots, holding their courts like sovereigns! The cowering awe of the clergy, the influence of the envied wealth and state itself, might repress, but it would not subdue, if once awakened, the sense of this discrepancy. But once boldly stirred by a popular teacher, by a man of vehement eloquence, unsuspected sincerity, restless activity, unimpeachable religious orthodoxy, how fearful to the hierarchy, to the whole sacerdotal system!—and such a man was Arnold of Brescia.[c]

Arnold a disciple of Abélard.

Arnold was a native of the Lombard city of Brescia. Of his youth and education nothing is known. His adolescence ripened amid the advancing political republicanism of the Lombard cities. With the inquisitive and aspiring youth from all parts of Europe, he travelled to France, to attend the great instructor of the times, Peter Abélard, probably at that period when Abélard was first settled in the wilderness

[c] The birth of Arnold is vaguely assigned to the beginning of the twelfth century. Guadagnani conjectures, with some probability, that he was born about 1105. There is a Life of Arnold by H. Francke, "Arnold von Brescia," Zurich, 1825.

of the Paraclete, and when his highborn and wealthy scholars submitted to such severe privations in pursuit of knowledge, and became monks in all but religious submissiveness. Arnold throughout his life passed as a disciple, as a faithful follower of Abélard. But while others wrought out the daring speculative views of Abélard, delighted in his logical subtleties, and with him endeavoured to tear away the veil which hung over the sacred mysteries of the faith, Arnold seized on the practical, the political, the social consequences. On all the high mysterious doctrines of the Church, the orthodoxy of Arnold was unimpeachable; his personal life was that of the sternest monk; he had the most earnest sympathy with the popular religion. On the Sacraments alone his opinions were questioned; and as to them, rather on account of their connexion with the great object of his hostility, the sacerdotal power. The old edifice of the hierarchy, which had been rising for centuries till it governed the world, possessed in all the kingdoms a very large proportion of the land; had assumed the judicial, in some cases the military functions of the state; had raised the Pope to a sovereign prince, who, besides his own dominions, held foreign kingdoms in feudal subordination to himself: all this Arnold aspired to sweep away from the face of the earth. He would reduce the clergy to their primitive and apostolic poverty;[d] confiscate all their wealth, escheat all their temporal power. Their estates he secularised at once; he would make them ministers of religion and no more, modestly maintained by the first-

[d] "Primitias et quæ devotio plebis
Offerat, et decimas castos in corporis usus,
Non ad luxuriam, neve oblectamina carnis
Concedens, mollesque cibos, cultusque nitorem,
Illicitosque jocos, lascivaque gaudia cleri,
Pontificum fastus, abbatum denique laxos
Damnabat penitus mores, monachosque superbos."—*Gunther*, iii. 273, &c.

fruits and tithes of the people. And that only as a holy clergy, on a voluntary system, but in every respect subject to the supreme civil power. On that power, too, Arnold would boldly lay his reforming hand. His Utopia was a great Christian republic, exactly the reverse of that of Gregory VII. As religious and as ambitious as Hildebrand, Arnold employed the terrors of the other world, with as little scruple to depose, as the pontiff to exalt the authority of the clergy. Salvation was impossible to a priest holding property, a bishop exercising temporal power, a monk retaining any possession whatever. This he grounded not on the questionable authority of the Church, but on the plain Gospel of Christ; to that Gospel he appealed with intrepid confidence. It was the whole feudal system, imperial as well as pontifical, which was to vanish away: the temporal sovereign was to be the fountain of honour, of wealth, of power. To the sovereign were to revert all the possessions of the Church, the estates of the monasteries, the royalties of the Pope and the bishops.[e] But that sovereign was a popular assembly. Like other fond republicans, Arnold hoped to find in a democratic senate, chosen out of, and chosen by, the unchristian as well as the Christian part of the community, that Christianity for which he looked in vain in the regal and pontifical autocracies, in the episcopal and feudal oligarchies of the time.[f] This, which the most sanguine in the nineteenth century look upon as

[e] "Dicebat nec clericos proprietatem, nec episcopos regalia, nec monachos possessiones habentes aliquâ ratione salvari posse. Cuncta hæc principis esse, ab ejusque beneficentiâ in usum tantum laicorum cedere oportere."—Otho Freisingen.

[f] "Omnia principiis terrenis subdita, tantum
Committenda viris popularibus atque regenda."—*Gunther*, iii. 277.

Compare the whole passage.

visionary, or, after a long discipline of religious and social education, but remotely possible, Arnold hoped to raise, as if by enchantment, among the rude, ignorant, oppressed lower classes of the twelfth. So the alliance of the imperial and pontifical power, which in the end was so fatal to Arnold, was grounded on no idle fear or wanton tyranny, it was an alliance to crush a common enemy.

The Church of Rome has indeed boasted her natural sympathy and willing league with freedom. Her confederacy with the young republics of Lombardy is considered the undeniable manifestation of this spirit. But there at least her love of freedom was rather hatred of the imperial power; it was a struggle at their cost for her own aggrandisement. In Brescia, as in many other cities in the north of Italy, the Bishop Arimanno had taken the lead in shaking off all subjection to the Empire. Brescia declared herself a republic, and established a municipal government; but the bishop usurped the sovereignty wrested from the Empire. He assumed the state, the power of a feudal lord; the estates of the Church were granted as fiefs, on the condition of military service to defend his authority. Brescia complained with justice that the Church and the poor were robbed to maintain the secular pomp of the baron. The republican spirit, kindled by the bishop, would not endure his tyranny. He was worsted in a bloody and desolating war; he was banished for three years to the distance of fifty miles from the city. Arimanno, the bishop, was deposed by Pope Paschal in the Lateran Council at Rome, A.D. 1116; his coadjutor Conrad promoted to the see. Conrad sought to raise again the fallen power of the bishopric, and Conrad in his turn was dispossessed by his coadjutor Manfred. Innocent II

appeared in Brescia. There is little doubt that Conrad had embraced the faction of the Antipope Anacletus; Manfred therefore was confirmed in the see. The new bishop attempted, in a synod at Brescia, to repress the concubinage and likewise the vices of the clergy; but in the assertion of his temporal power he was no less ambitious and overbearing than his predecessors. To execute his decree he entered into a league with the consuls of the city. But the married clergy and their adherents were too strong for the bishop and the adherents of the rigorists. The consuls and the bishop were expelled from the city. Manfred was afterwards replaced by the legate of the Pope, and now appears to have thrown himself into the party of the nobles.

July 26-29, 1132.

It was in this state of affairs that the severe and blameless Arnold began to preach his captivating but alarming doctrines. Prelates like Manfred and his predecessors were not likely to awe those who esteemed apostolic poverty and apostolic lowliness the only true perfection of the Christian. Secular pomp and luxury were almost inseparable from secular power. The clergy of a secular bishop would hardly be otherwise than secular. Arnold, on his return to Brescia, had received the two lower orders of the Church as a reader; he then took the religious vow and became a monk: a monk of primitive austerity.[g] He was a man of stern republican virtue, and of stern republican sentiments; his enemies do justice to his rigid and blameless character. The monk in truth and the republican had met

[g] "Arnoldum loquor de Brixiâ qui utinam tam sanæ esset doctrinæ quam districtæ est vitæ; et si vultis scire, homo est neque manducans neque bibens, solo cum diabolo esuriens et sitiens sanguinem animarum."—Bernard, Epist. 195.

in him, the admirer of the old Roman liberty and of the lowly religion of Christ. He was seemingly orthodox in all his higher creed, though doubts were intimated of his soundness on image-worship, on reliques, on infant baptism, and the Eucharist—those strong foundations of the sacerdotal power.[h] From his austerity, and the silence of his adversaries as to such obnoxious opinions, it is probable that he was severe on the question of the marriage of the clergy; he appears standing alone, disconnected with that faction. His eloquence was singularly sweet, copious, and flowing, but at the same time vigorous and awakening, sharp as a sword and soft as oil.[i] He called upon the people to compel the clergy, and especially the bishop, to retire altogether into their proper functions; to abandon all temporal power, all property. The populace listened to his doctrines with fanatic ardour; he preached in the pulpits and the market-places, incessantly, boldly, and fearless whom he might assail, the Pope himself or the lowliest priest, in the deep inward conviction of the truth of his own doctrines. He unfolded the dark pages of ecclesiastical history to a willing auditory.[k] The whole city was in the highest state of excitement; and not Brescia alone, the doctrines spread like wildfire through Lombardy; many other cities were moved if not to tumult, to wild

[h] "Præter hæc de sacramento altaris et baptismo parvulorum non sanè *dicitur* sensisse." — Otho Freisingen. Did he attach the validity of the rite to the holiness of the priest?

[i] "Lingua ejus gladius acutus—molliti sunt sermones ejus sicut oleum, et ipsa sunt jacula—allicit blandis sermonibus."—Bernard, Epist. 195: see also 196. "Pulcram fallendi noverat artem . . . mellifluis admiscens toxica verbis."—Gunther.

[k] Even Gunther is betrayed into some praise.

"Veraque multa quidem nisi tempora nostra fideles
Respuerant monitus, falsis admixta monebat."

"Dum Brixiensem ecclesiam perturbaret, laicisque terræ illius, prurientes erga clerum aures habentibus, ecclesiasticas malitiose exponeret paginas."—Otho Freisingen, ii. 20.

expectation.[m] Some of the nobles as laymen had been attracted by the doctrines of Arnold; but most of them made common cause with the bishop, who was already of their faction. The bishopric was a great benefice, which each might hope to fill with some one of his own family. The bishop therefore, the whole clergy, the wealthier monasteries, the higher nobles, were bound together by their common fears, by their common danger. Yet even then a popular revolution was averted only by an appeal to Rome—to Rome where Innocent, his rival overthrown, was presiding in the great Council of the Lateran; Innocent replaced on his throne by all the great monarchs of Christendom, and environed by a greater number of prelates than had ever assembled in any Council.

Before that supreme tribunal Arnold was accused, not it should seem of heresy, but of the worst kind of schism;[n] his accusers were the bishop and all the higher clergy of Brescia. Rome, it is said, shuddered, as she might with prophetic dread, at the doctrine and its author; yet the Council was content with imposing silence on Arnold, and banishment from Italy. With this decree the bishops and the clergy returned to Brescia; the fickle people were too much under the terror of their religion to defend their teacher.[o] The nobles seized the opportunity of expelling the two popular consuls, who were branded as hypocrites and heretics. Arnold fled beyond the Alps, and took refuge in Zurich. It is

Arnold condemned by the Council of the Lateran. April, 1139.

Arnold in Zurich.

[m] "Ille suum vecors in clerum pontificemque,
. . . atque alias plures commoverat urbes."—*Gunther.*

[n] "Accusatus est apud dominum Papam *schismate pessimo.*"—S. Bernard. There is no evidence that he was involved in the condemnation of Peter of Brueys and the Cathari in the 23rd canon.

[o] Malvezzi apud Muratori, vol. xiv.

singular to observe this more than Protestant, sowing as it were the seeds of that total abrogation of the whole hierarchical system, completed in Zurich by Zuingle, the most extreme of the reformers in the age of Luther.

Beyond the Alps Arnold is again the scholar, the faithful and devoted scholar of Abélard. Neither their admirers nor their enemies seem to discern the vital difference between the two; they are identified by their common hostility to the authority of the Church. Abélard addressed the abstract reason, Arnold the popular passions; Abélard undermined the great dogmatic system, Arnold boldly assailed the vast temporal power of the Church; Abélard treated the hierarchy with respect, but brought into question the doctrines of the Church; Arnold, with deep reverence for the doctrines, shook sacerdotal Christianity to its base; Abélard was a philosopher, Arnold a demagogue. Bernard was watching both with the persevering sagacity of jealousy, and of fear for his own imperilled faith, his imperilled Church. His fiery zeal was not content with the condemnation of Abélard by the Council of Sens,[p] and the Pope's rescript condemnatory of Arnold in the Lateran Council. He urged the Pope to take further measures for their condemnation, for the burning of their books, and secure custody of their persons. The obsequious Pope, in a brief but violent letter addressed to the Archbishops of Rheims and Sens and to the Abbot of Clairvaux, commanded that the books containing such damnable doctrines should be

[p] It is not clear at what time or in what manner Arnold undertook the defence of Abélard's dangerous propositions. Abélard and his disciples had maintained silence before the Council of Sens; and there Arnold was not present.

publicly cast into the fire, the two heresiarchs separately imprisoned in some religious house. The papal letter[q] was disseminated throughout France by the restless activity of Bernard,[q] but men were weary or ashamed of the persecution; he was heard with indifference. Abélard, as has been seen, found a retreat in the abbey of Clugny; what was more extraordinary, Arnold found a protector in a papal legate, in a future Pope, the Cardinal Guido di Castello. Like Arnold, Guido had been a scholar of Abélard, he had betrayed so much sympathy with his master as to receive the rebuke, above alluded to, from Bernard, softened only by the dignity of his position and character. His protection of Arnold was more open and therefore more offensive to the Abbot of Clairvaux. He wrote in a mingled tone of earnest admonition and angry expostulation. "Arnold of Brescia, whose words are as honey but whose doctrines are poison, whom Brescia cast forth, at whom Rome shuddered, whom France has banished, whom Germany will soon hold in abomination, whom Italy will not endure, is reported to be with you. Either you know not the man, or hope to convert him. May this be so; but beware of the fatal infection of heresy; he who consorts with the suspected becomes liable to suspicion; he who favours one under the papal excommunication, contravenes the Pope, and even the Lord God himself." [r]

Arnold with Guido di Castello.

The indefatigable Bernard traced the fugitive Arnold

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[q] See Nicolini's preface to his tragedy of Arnold of Brescia:—"Ut Petrum Abeilardum et Arnoldum de Brixia, perversi dogmatis fabricatores et catholicæ fidei impugnatores, in religiosis locis, ut iis melius fuerint, separatim faciant includi, et libros eorum, ubicunque reperti fuerint, igne comburi."—1140, July 16. Mansi, xxi., S. Bernard Opera Appendix, p. 76.

[r] Bernardi Epist. The expression "quem Germania abominabitur" favours the notion that Guido was Legate in Germany. So hints Guadagnani.

into the diocese of Constance. He wrote in the most vehement language to the bishop denouncing Arnold as the author of tumult and sedition, of insurrection against the clergy, even against bishops, of arraying the laity against the spiritual power. No terms are too harsh; besides the maledictory language of the Psalms, "His mouth is full of cursing and bitterness, and his feet swift to shed blood," he calls him the enemy of the Cross of Christ, the fomenter of discord, the fabricator of schism. He urges the bishop to seize and imprison this wandering disturber of the peace; such had been the Pope's command, but men had shrunk from that good deed. The Bishop of Constance was at least not active in the pursuit of Arnold. Zurich was again for some time his place of refuge, or rather the Alpine valleys, where, at least from the days of Claudius Bishop of Turin, tenets kindred to his own, and hostile, if not to the doctrines, to some of the usages of the Church, to the power and wealth of the clergy, had lurked in the hearts of men. The Waldenses look up to Arnold as to one of the spiritual founders of their churches; and his religious and political opinions probably fostered the spirit of republican independence which throughout Switzerland and the whole Alpine district was awaiting its time.[s]

Zurich.

For five years all traces of Arnold are lost; on a sudden he appears in Rome under the protection of the intrepid champion of the new republic which had wrested the sovereignty of the city from the Pope, and had abrogated his right to all

Arnold in Rome.

[s] "Nobile Torregium, ductoris nomine falso
Insedit, totamque brevi sub tempore terram,
Perfidus, impuri fœdavit dogmatis aurâ.
Unde venenato dudum corrupta sapore,
Et nimium falsi doctrinæ vatis inhærens,
Servat adhuc uvæ gustum gens illa paternæ."—*Gunther*, iii.

temporal possessions. In the foundation of this republic Arnold had personally no concern, but the influence of his doctrines doubtless much. The Popes, who had beheld with satisfaction the rise of the Lombard commonwealths, or openly approved their revolt, were startled to find a republic springing up in Rome itself. Many Romans had crossed the Alps to the school of Abélard; but the practical doctrines of Abélard's scholar were more congenial to their turbulent minds than the abstract lore of the master. Innocent II. seemed doomed to behold the whole sovereignty, feudal as well as temporal, dissolve in his hands. The wars with Naples to assert his feudal title had ended in the establishment of Roger of Sicily in the independent kingdom of Naples. The Roman passion for liberty was closely allied, as in all the Italian republics, with less generous sentiments—an implacable hatred of liberty in others. There had been a long jealousy between Tivoli and Rome. Tivoli proclaimed its independence of Rome and of the Pope. It had despised the excommunication of the Pope and inflicted a disgraceful defeat on the Romans, as yet the Pope's loyal subjects, under the Pope himself. After a war of at least a year Tivoli was reduced to capitulate; but Innocent, who perhaps might look hereafter to the strength of Tivoli as a check upon unruly Rome, refused to gratify the revenge of the Romans by dismantling and razing the city walls and dispersing the inhabitants. The Romans turned their baffled vengeance on Innocent himself. Rome assembled in the Capitol, declared itself a republic, restored the senate, proposed to elect a patrician, and either actually withdrew or threatened to withdraw all temporal allegiance from the Pope. But as yet they were but half scholars of Arnold;

they only shook off the yoke of the Pope to place themselves under the yoke of the Emperor. The republicans addressed a letter to the Emperor Conrad, declaring that it was their object to restore the times of Justinian and of Constantine. The Emperor might now rule in the capital of the world, over Germany and Italy, with more full authority than any of his predecessors: all obstacles from the ecclesiastical power were removed; they concluded with five verses. Let the Emperor do his will on all his enemies, establish his throne in Rome, and govern the world like another Justinian, and let Peter, according to the commandment of Christ, pay tribute to Cæsar.[t] But they warned him at the same time that his aid must be speedy and strong. "The Pope had made a league with the King of Sicily, whom, in return for large succours to enable him to defy the Emperor, he had invested in all the insignia of royalty. Even in Rome the Pope, the Frangipani, the Sicilians, all the nobles, even the family of Peter Leonis, except their leader Giordano, had conspired to prevent them, the Roman people, from bestowing on Conrad the imperial crown. In order that this army might reach Rome in safety, they had restored the Milvian bridge; but without instant haste all might be lost." In the midst of these tumults Innocent died, closing a Pontificate of fourteen years.

Death of Innocent II. Sept. 23, 1143.

The successor of Innocent was Guido di Castello, the cardinal of S. Mario, the scholar of Abélard, the protector of Arnold. He was elected, from what motive or through what interest does not appear, yet by the

[t] "Rex valeat, quicquid cupit, obtineat, super hostes
Imperium teneat, Romæ sedeat, regat orbem:
Princeps terrarum, ceu fecit Justinianus;
Cæsaris accipiat Cæsar, quæ sunt sua Præsul
Ut Christus jussit, Petro solvente tributum."—*Otho Freisingen*, l. 28.

unanimous suffrage of the cardinals and amidst the acclamations of the people.[u] He took the name of Cœlestine II. The only act of Cœlestine was one of gentleness and peace; he received the ambassadors of Louis VII., King of France, pronounced his benediction on the kingdom, and so repealed the Interdict with which Innocent had rewarded the faithful services of his early patron and almost humble vassal.[x] Even the turbulence of the people was overawed; they might seem to await in anxious expectation how far the protector of Arnold might favour their resumption of the Roman liberties.

Sept. 26. Cœlestine II.

These hopes were disappointed by the death of Cœlestine after a pontificate of less than six months. On the accession of Lucius II., a Bolognese by birth, the republic boldly assumed the ideal form imagined by Arnold of Brescia. The senate and the people assembled in the Capitol, and elected a Patrician,[y] Giordano, the descendant of Peter

March 8, 1144. Lucius II.

March 12.

[u] The Life of Cœlestine is at issue with his own letters. The Life asserts that the people were absolutely excluded from all share in the election. Cœlestine writes: "Clero et populo acclamante, partim et expetente."—Epist. ad Petr. Venerab.

[x] The interdict related to the election to the archbishopric of Bourges. The king, according to usage, named a candidate to the chapter. The Pope commanded the obsequious chapter to elect Peter de la Chatre, nephew to the Chancellor of the Roman Church. Even Louis was provoked to wrath; he swore that Peter de la Chatre should never sit as Archbishop of Bourges. "We must teach this young man," said the haughty Pope, "not thus to meddle with the affairs of the Church." He gave the pall to the archbishop, who had fled to Rome. The interdict followed; wherever the King of France appeared, ceased all the divine offices. The interdict was raised by Cœlestine; but Peter de la Chatre was Archbishop of Bourges.—Compare Martin, Hist. de France, iii. 434.

[y] This appears from the words of Otho Freisingen: "Senatoribus, quos ante instituerant, *patricium* adjiciunt."—Otho Freisingen, vii. 31. What place did this leave for the Emperor? I conceive, therefore, that the letter to the Emperor belongs to the pontificate of Innocent, where I have placed it

Leonis. They announced to the Pope their submission to his spiritual authority, but to his spiritual authority alone. They declared that the Pope and the clergy must content themselves from that time with the tithes and oblations of the people; that all the temporalities, the royalties, and rights of sovereignty fell to the temporal power, and that power was the Patrician.[z] They proceeded to make themselves masters of the city, attacked and levelled to the ground many of the fortress palaces of the cardinals and the nobles. The Pope, after some months, wrote an urgent letter to the Emperor Conrad to claim his protection against his rebellious subjects. To the appeal of the Romans, calling him to the sovereignty, Conrad, spell-bound perhaps by the authority of Bernard, however tempting the occasion might be, paid no attention; even if more inclined to the cause of the Pope, he had no time for interference. Pope Lucius had recourse to more immediate means of defence. He armed the pontifical party, and that party comprehended all the nobles: it had become a contest of the oligarchy and the democracy. He placed himself at their head, obtained, it should seem, some success,[a] but in an attempt to storm the Capitol in the front of his soldiers he was mortally wounded with a stone. To have slain a Pope afflicted the Romans with no remorse. The papal party felt no shame at the unseemly death of a Pope who had fallen in actual war for the defence of his temporal power; republican Rome felt no compunction at the fall of her enemy. Yet the death of Lucius seems to have extinguished for a time

Dec. 28.

Feb. 25, 1145. Death of Lucius II.

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[z] "Ad jus patricii sui reposcunt."—Otho Freisingen, *loc. cit.* This was pure Arnoldism.

[a] "Senatum abrogare coegit."—Cardin. Arragon. in Vita Lucii.

the ambition of the cardinals. Instead of rival Popes contending for advancement, Pope and Antipope in eager haste to array themselves in the tiara, all seemed to shrink from the perilous dignity. They drew forth from the cloister of the Cistercian monks the Abbot, Bernard of Pisa, a devout man, but obscure and of simplicity, it was supposed, bordering on imbecility. His sole recommendation was that he was a Cistercian, a friend of Bernard of Clairvaux, of Bernard the tried foe of Abélard and of Arnold of Brescia, Bernard through whom alone they could hope for the speedy succour of the Transalpine sovereigns. "In electing you," says Bernard himself, "they made me Pope, not you."[b] The saint's letter of congratulation is in a tone of mingled superiority and deference, in which the deference is formal, the superiority manifest. To the conclave Bernard remonstrated against the cruelty, almost the impiety, of dragging a man dead to the world back into the peril and turmoil of worldly affairs. He spoke almost with contempt of the rude character of Eugenius III. "Is this a man to gird on the sword and to execute vengeance on the people, to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with links of iron?" (Such at present appeared to Bernard the office of Christ's representative on earth!). "How will a man with the innocence and simplicity of a child cope with affairs which require the strength of a giant?"[c] Bernard was for once mistaken in his estimate of human character. Eugenius III. belied all expectations by the unsuspected vigour of his conduct. He was compelled, indeed, at first to bow before the storm: on the third

Eugenius III.

[b] "Aiunt non vos esse papam, sed me."—Epist. 237, 8.

[c] Epist. 236. He calls him "pannosum homuncionem."

day after his election he left Rome to receive his consecration in the monastery of Farfa.

Arnold of Brescia at the head of a large force of Swiss mountaineers who had imbibed his doctrines, was now in Rome.[d] His eloquence brought over the larger part of the nobles to the popular side: even some of the clergy were infected by his doctrines. The republic, under his influence, affected to resume the constitution of elder Rome. The office of prefect was abolished, the Patrician Giordano established in full authority. They pretended to create anew patrician families, an equestrian order; the name and rights of tribunes of the people were to balance the power of the Senate; the laws of the commonwealth were re-enacted.[e] Nor were they forgetful of more substantial provisions for their power. The Capitol was rebuilt and fortified; even the church of St. Peter was sacrilegiously turned into a castle. The Patrician took possession of the Vatican, imposed taxes, and exacted tribute by violence from the pilgrims. Rome began again to speak of her sovereignty over the world. On the expulsion of Eugenius, the indefatigable Bernard addressed a letter to the Roman people in his usual tone of haughty apology for his interference; a protest of his own insignificance while he was dictating to nations and kings. He mingles what he means for gentle persuasion with the language of awful menace. "Not only will the powers of earth, but the Martyrs of heaven

Arnold in Rome.

[d] "Arnoldus Alpinorum turbam ad se traxit et Romam cum multitudine venit."—Fasti Corbeienses. See Müller, Schweitzer's Geschichte, i. 409, u. 277. Eugen., Epist. 4.

[e] "Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetustos,
Patricios recreare viros, priscosque Quirites,
Nomine plebeio secernere nomen equestre;
Jura tribunorum, sanctum reparare senatum;
Et senio fessas, mutasque reponere leges;
Reddere primævo Capitolia prisca nitori."
Gunther.

fight against a rebellious people." In one part, he dexterously inquires how far they themselves had become richer by the plunder of the churches. It was as the religious capital of the world that Rome was great and wealthy; they were cutting off all their real glory and riches by ceasing to be the city of St. Peter.[f] In another letter, he called on the Emperor Conrad to punish this accursed and tumultuous people.

But Eugenius owed to his own intrepid energy and conduct at least a temporary success. He launched his sentence of excommunication against the rebel Patrician: Rome was too much accustomed to such thunders to regard them. He appealed to more effective arms, the implacable hatred and jealousy of the neighbouring cities. Tivoli was always ready to take arms against Rome, (Innocent II. had foreseen the danger of dismantling this check on Rome,) other cities sent their troops; Eugenius was in person at Civita Castellana, Narni, Viterbo, where he took up his residence. The proud republic was compelled to capitulate. The Patrician abdicated his short-lived dignity; the Prefect resumed his functions; the Senate was permitted to exist, but shorn of its power.[g] A general amnesty was granted to all concerned in the late commotions. Some of the Roman nobles, the great family of the Frangipani, out of rivalry perhaps to the Peter Leonis, had remained faithful to the Pope. Eugenius returned to Rome, and celebrated Christmas with pomp at least sufficient to give an appearance of popularity to his resumption of

Eugenius recovers Rome.

A.D. 1145-1146.

[f] Epist. 242, 243. Gregorovius dates these letters later.—iv. p. 474.

[g] In the few fragments of the historians we trace the influence, but little of the personal history of Arnold. We know not whether he remained in Rome during the short triumph of Eugenius.

authority; he was attended by some of the nobles, and all the clergy.

But without the walls of Rome, at the head of a hostile army, the Pope was an object of awe; within the city with only his Roman partisans, he was powerless. He might compel Rome to abandon her republican constitution, he could not her hatred of Tivoli. Under this black standard rallied all her adversaries: only on the condition of his treachery to Tivoli, which had befriended him in his hour of necessity, would Rome continue to obey him. Eugenius left the city in disgust; he retired first to Viterbo, then to Sienna; eventually, after the delay of a year, beyond the Alps.[h] Arnold and Arnold's republic resumed uncontested possession of the capital of Christendom.

Eugenius flies. March 23, 1146.

Beyond the Alps the Cistercian Pontiff sank into the satellite of the great Cistercian ruler of Christendom. The Pope maintained the state, the authority was with St. Bernard. Three subjects, before the arrival of Eugenius in France, had occupied the indefatigable thoughts of Bernard. The two first display his all-grasping command of the mind of Christendom; but it was the last which so completely absorbed his soul, that succours to the Pope struggling against his rebellious subjects, the sovereignty of Rome, might seem beneath his regard.

In France.

The Abbot of Clairvaux was involved in a disputed election to the Archbishopric of York. The narrow corporate spirit of his order betrayed him into great and crying injustice to William, the elected prelate of that See. The rival of the English

Bernard and William of York.

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[h] He was at Vercelli, March 3, 1147; at Clugny, 26; at Dijon, 30.

man, Henry Murdach, once a Cluniac, was a Cistercian; and Bernard scruples not to heap on one of the most pious of men accusations of ambition, of worse than ambition: to condemn him to everlasting perdition.[i] The obsequious Pope, no doubt under the same party influence, or quailing under the admonitions of Bernard, which rise into menace, issued his sentence of deposition against William. England, true to that independence which she had still asserted under her Norman sovereigns, refused obedience. King Stephen even prohibited his bishops from attending the Pope's summons to a Council at Rheims; the Archbishop of Canterbury was obliged to cross the sea clandestinely in a small boat.[k] William eventually triumphed over all opposition, obtained peaceable possession of the see, died in the odour of sanctity, and has his place in the sacred calendar.

Bernard had detected new heresies in the church of France. Gilbert de la Porée, the aged Bishop of Poitiers, was charged with heterodox conceptions of the divine nature.[m] This controversy wearied out two Councils; bewildered by the meta-

Gilbert de la Porée.

[i] Epist. 241. "Sævit frustrata ambitio: imo desperata furit. . . . Clamat contra eorum capita sanguis sanctorum de terrâ."

[k] "St. William showed no enmity, sought no revenge against his most inveterate enemies, who had prepossessed Eugenius III. against him by the blackest calumnies."—Butler, Lives of Saints. June 8th. S. William. Was Bernard imposed upon, or the author of these calumnies? It is a dark page in his life

[m] Otho of Freisingen, however, ascribes two other tenets to Gilbert, one denying all human merit; the other, a peculiar opinion on baptism. "Quod meritum humanum attenuando, nullum mereri diceret præter Christum." He appeared too to deny that any one was really baptised, except those who were to be saved.—Otho Freisingen, i. 50. M. Haureau (Philosophie Scolastique) has a much higher opinion of Gilbert de la Porée as an original thinker than the historians of philosophy previous to him.—vol. i. c. xviii.

physical subtleties they came to no conclusion. It was, in fact, in its main article a mere dialectic dispute, bearing on the point whether the divine nature was God. It was Nominalism and Realism in another form. But the close of this contest demands attention. The Bishop of Poitiers, instead of shrinking from his own words, in a discussion before the Pope, who was now at Paris, exclaimed:—"Write them down with a pen of adamant!" Notwithstanding this, under the influence and direction of Bernard four articles were drawn and ratified by the Synod. The Pope himself, worn out, acknowledged that the controversy was beyond his understanding. These articles were the direct converse to those of Gilbert of Poitiers. They declared the divine nature to be God, and God the divine nature. But Rome heard with indignation that the Church of France had presumed to enact articles of faith. The Cardinals published a strong remonstrance impeaching the Pope of presumption; of abandoning the voice of his legitimate counsellors, who had promoted him to the Papacy; and yielding to the sway of private, of more recent friendship.[n] "It is not for thee alone, but for us with thee to frame articles of faith. Is this good Abbot to presume to dictate to Christendom? The Eastern churches would not have dared to do this." The Pope endeavoured to soothe them by language almost apologetic; they allowed themselves at length to be appeased by his modest words, but on condition

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[n] The Bishop Otho of Freisingen writes thus of Bernard: "Erat autem prædictus Abbas, tam ex Christianæ religionis fervore zelotypus, quam ex habituali mansuetudine quodammodo credulus, ut et magistros, qui humanis rationibus, sæcularis sapientiæ confisi, nimium inhærebant, abhorreret, et si quidquam ei Christianæ fidei absonum de talibus diceretur facile aurem præberet."—De Rebus Freder. I., i. 47.

that no symbol of faith should be promulgated without the authority of the Roman court, the College of Cardinals.

These, however, were trivial and unimportant considerations. Before and during the agitation of these contests, the whole soul of Bernard was absorbed in a greater object: he aspired to be a second Peter the Hermit, the preacher of a new crusade. The fall of Edessa, and other tidings of defeat and disaster, had awakened the slumbering ardour of Europe. The kingdom of Jerusalem trembled for its security. Peter himself was not more active or more successful in traversing Europe, and wakening the passionate valour of all orders, than Bernard. In the cities of Germany, of Burgundy, of Flanders, of France, the pulpits were open to him; he preached in the market-places and highways. Nor did he depend upon human eloquence alone; according to his wandering followers, eye-witnesses as they declared themselves, the mission of Bernard was attested by miracles, at least as frequent and surprising as all those of the Saviour, recorded in the New Testament. They, no doubt, imagined that they believed them, and no one hesitated to believe their report. In sermons, in speeches, in letters, by public addresses, and by his private influence, Bernard wrought up Latin Christendom to a second access of frenzy equal to the first.[c] The Pope, Eugenius III., probably at his instigation, addressed an animated epistle to Western Christendom. He promised the same privileges offered by his predecessor Urban, the remission of all sins, the protection of the crusaders' estates and families, during their absence in the Holy

Crusade.

Epist. to the Pope Eugenius, 256; to the Bishop of Spires, 322.

Land, under the tutelage of the Church; and he warned them against profane luxury in their arms and accoutrements; against hawks and hounds, while engaged in that hallowed warfare. Bernard preached a sermon to the Knights Templars, now in the dawn of their valour and glory. The Korân is tame to this fierce hymn of battle. "The Christian who slays the unbeliever in the Holy War is sure of his reward, more sure if he is slain. The Christian glories in the death of the Pagan, because Christ is glorified: by his own death both he himself and Christ are still more glorified."

Easter, 1146. Vezelay.

Bernard at the Council of Vezelay wrought no less wonderful effects than Pope Urban at Clermont. Eugenius alone, who had not yet crossed, or had hardly crossed the Alps, was wanting at that august assembly, but in a letter he had declared that nothing but the disturbances at Rome prevented him from following the example of his predecessor Urban. A greater than the Pope was there. The Castle of Vezelay could not contain the multitudes who thronged to hear the fervid eloquence of Bernard. The preacher, with the King of France, Louis VII. by his side, who wore the cross conspicuously on his dress, ascended a platform of wood. At the close of his harangue the whole assembly broke out in tumultuous cries, "The Cross, the Cross!" They crowded to the stage to receive the holy badge; the preacher was obliged to scatter it among them, rather than deliver it to each. The stock at hand was soon exhausted. Bernard tore up his own dress to satisfy the eager claimants. For the first time, the two greatest sovereigns in Christendom, the Emperor and the King of France, embarked in the cause. Louis had appeared at Vezelay; he was taking measures for the campaign. But Conrad shrank from the perilous enterprise; the

affairs of Germany demanded the unintermitting care of her sovereign. Bernard watched his opportunity. At a great Diet at Spires, at Christmas, after the reconciliation of some of the rebellious princes with the Empire, he urged both the Emperor and the princes, in a long and ardent sermon, to testify to their Christian concord by taking the Cross together. Three days after, at Ratisbon, he had a private interview with the Emperor. Conrad still wavered, promised to consult his nobles, and to give an answer on the following day. On that day, after the mass, Bernard ascended the pulpit. At the close of his sermon, he turned to the Emperor, and after a terrific description of the terrors of the Last Day, he summoned him to think of the great gifts, for which he would have to give account at that awful Advent of the Lord. The Emperor and the whole audience melted into tears; he declared himself ready to take the Cross; he was at once invested with the irrevocable sign of dedication to the holy warfare; many of his nobles followed his example. Bernard, for all was prepared, took the consecrated banner from the altar, and delivered it into the hands of Conrad. Three bishops, Henry of Ratisbon, Otho of Freisingen, Reginbert of Padua, took the Cross. Such a multitude of thieves and robbers crowded to the sacred standard, that no one could refuse to see the hand of God.[p] Nowhere would even kings proceed without the special benediction of Bernard. At Etampes, and at St. Denys in the next year, he appeared among the assembled crusaders of France. The Pope Eugenius was now in France; the King at St. Denys prostrated himself before the feet of his Holiness

Spires.

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[p] Otho Freisingen, i. 40.

and of Bernard; they opened a box of golden crucifixes; they led him to the altar and bestowed on him the consecrated banner, the pilgrim's wallet and staff. At another meeting at Chartres, Bernard, so great was the confidence in his more than human powers, was entreated himself to take the command of the crusade. But he wisely remembered the fate of Peter's followers, and exhorted the warriors to place themselves under the command of some experienced general.

Pentecost, May 11, 1147.

But there was a miracle of Christian love, as far surpassing in its undoubted veracity as in its evangelic beauty all which legend gathered around the preaching pilgrimage of Bernard. The crusade began; a wild monk named Rodolph raised the terrible cry against the Jews, which was even more greedily than before heard by the populace of the great cities, and by the armed soldiers. In Cologne, Mentz, Spires, Worms, Strasburg, a massacre the most frightful and remorseless broke out. Bernard arose in all his power and authority. He condemned the unchristian act in his strongest language. "God had punished the Jews by their dispersion, it was not for man to punish them by murder." Bernard himself confronted the furious Rodolph at Mentz, and commanded him to retire to his convent; but it required all the sanctity and all the eloquence of Bernard to control the furious populace, now drunk with blood and glutted with pillage.[a] Among the most melancholy reflections, it is not the least sad that the gentle Abbot of Clugny, Peter

The Jews.

[a] Otho Freisingen, i. 37, 8. It is curious that the two modern biographers of S. Bernard, Neander and M. de Ratisbonne, were once Jews Their works are labours of gratitude as well as of love.

the Venerable, still to be opposed to Bernard, took the side of blind fanaticism.

Of all these holy wars, none had been announced with greater ostentation, of none had it been more boldly averred that it was of divine inspiration, the work of God; of none had the hopes, the prophecies of success been more confident; none had been conducted with so much preparation and pomp; none had as yet been headed by kings—none ended in such total and deplorable disaster.[r] So vast had been the movement, so completely had the West been drained to form the army of the Cross, that not merely had all war come to an end, but it was almost a crime, writes the warlike Bishop of Freisingen, to be seen in arms. "The cities and the castles are empty," writes Bernard, "there is hardly one man to seven women." What was the close? At least thirty thousand lives were sacrificed and there was not even the consolation of one glorious deed achieved. The Emperor, the King of France, returned to their dominions, the ignominious survivors of their gallant hosts! But would the general and bitter disappointment of Christendom, the widowed and orphaned houses, the families, scarcely one of which had not to deplore their head, their pride, their hope, or their stay, still respect the author of these calamities? Was this the event of which Bernard had been the preacher, the prophet? Were all his miracles wrought only to plunge Christendom in shame and misery? There was a deep and sullen murmur against Bernard, and Bernard him-

Disasters of the Crusade.

[r] The anonymous author of the Annales Herbipolenses (Annals of Wurtzburg), evidently a monk, is a rare instance of an opponent of the Crusades, of their folly, of the worldly motives of most who assumed the cross. There is much curious matter in this chronicle about the proceedings of Conrad at Constantinople.—Apud Pertz. Monumenta Germ. v. xvi.

self was prostrated for a time in profound depression. But this disappointment found its usual consolation. Bernard still declared that he had spoken with the authority of the Pope, with the authority of God.[s] The first cause of failure was the perfidy of the Greeks. The Bishop of Langres had boldly advised the measure which was accomplished by a later crusade, the seizure of Constantinople; and with still more fervent hatred and contempt for the Greeks, whom they overwhelmed, starved, insulted on the passage through their dominions, the crusaders complained of their inhospitality, of the unchristian lukewarmness of their friendship. But the chief blame of their disasters was thrown back on the crusaders themselves; on the licence and unchastity of their camp. God would not be served by soldiers guilty of such sins; sins which human prudence might have anticipated as the inevitable consequence of discharging upon a distant land undisciplined and uncontrolled hordes, all the ruffians and robbers of Europe, whose only penance was to be the slaughter of unbelievers.[t] The Pope wrote a letter of consolation, cold consolation, to the Emperor Conrad; the admirers of Bernard excuse him by condemning themselves. But the boldest tone of consolation was taken by a monk named John. Not only did he assure Bernard that he knew from Heaven that many who had died in the Holy Land died with joy because they were prevented from returning to the wicked world, but in private confession

[s] "Diximus pax et non est pax: promisimus bona et ecce turbatio . . . Cucurrimus planè in eo non quasi in incertum, sed te jubente et imò per te Deo."—See the whole passage, De Consider. ii. 1.

[t] "Quamvis si dicamus sanctum illum Abbatem spiritu Dei ad excitandos nos afflatum fuisse, sed nos ob superbiam, lasciviamque nostram . . . . meritò rerum personarumque dispendium deportasse," &c.—Otho Freising. i. 60.

he averred that the patron saints of his monastery, St. Peter and St. John, had appeared and submitted to be interrogated on this mournful subject. The Apostles declared that the places of many of the fallen angels had been filled up by the Christian warriors who had died for the Cross in the Holy Land. The Apostles had likewise a fervent desire for the presence of the holy Bernard among them.[u]

Only a few years elapsed before Bernard, according to the general judgement of Christendom, fulfilled the vision of the monk, and departed to the society of Saints, Apostles, and Angels.

A.D. 1153.

The Saint, the Philosopher, the Demagogue of the century have passed before us (the end of the last is to come): it may be well to contemplate also the high ecclesiastical statesman. Suger, Abbot of St. Denys, has been sometimes represented as the unambitious Richelieu, the more honest Mazarin of his age. But Suger was the Minister of Kings of France, whose realm in his youth hardly reached beyond four or five modern departments; whose power was so limited that the road between Paris and Orleans, their two great cities, was commanded by the castle of a rebellious noble.[x] But though the fame of Suger be unwisely elevated by such comparisons, the historic facts remain, that during the reigns of the two Kings, Louis the Fat and Louis the Young, of whom Suger was the chief counsellor, order was restored, royal authority became more than a name, the great vassals of the crown were brought into something more nearly approaching to subordination. If France became France, and from the Meuse to the Pyrenees some respect and

Suger of St. Denys.

[u] Bernardi Opera, Epist. 333.
[x] Sismondi, Hist. des Français, v. pp. 7-20.

homage belonged to the King; if some cities obtained charters of freedom; however the characters of the Kings and the circumstances of the times may have had greater actual influence than the administration of Suger, yet much must have been due to his wisdom and firmness.

His birth.

Suger was born of obscure parentage at St. Omer, in 1081. He was received at fifteen in the Abbey of St. Denys. He became the companion of the King's son, educated at that abbey. In 1098 he went to finish his studies at St. Florent, in Saumur. He returned to St. Denys about the age of twenty-two.

Education and early life.

In the wars of Louis, first named the Watchful,[y] an appellation ill-exchanged for that of the Fat, the young monk of St. Denys scrupled not to wield a lance and to head the soldiers of the Abbey; for the King's domains and those of the Abbey of St. Denys, as annoyed by common enemies, were bound in close alliance, and were nearly of the same extent; the soldiers of St. Denys formed a large contingent in the royal army. The Abbot relates, not without some proud reminiscences, how, while yet a monk, he broke gallantly through the marauding hosts of Hugh de Poinset, and threw himself into Theury; he describes the joy "of our men" at his unexpected appearance, which encouraged them to a desperate rally, and saved Theury, a post of the utmost importance, for the King.

A.D. 1112.

Suger became the ambassador of the two great powers, the King and the Abbot of St. Denys, to the Court of Rome. He was sent to welcome Pope Gelasius, when, after the death of Paschal, he fled to France. Yet he

y L'Eveillé.

could not lament the death of Gelasius: the prudent Suger did not wish to commit France in a quarrel with the Romans.[a] Suger hailed the elevation of the half-French Pope, Calixtus II. He went on the King's affairs to Rome; and followed Calixtus into Apulia. On his return he had a remarkable and prophetic vision, and woke to the reality. On the death of Abbot Adam he had been chosen to the high place of Abbot of St. Denys. But the churchman and the courtier were committed in dire perplexity within him. The election had taken place without the King's permission. Louis, in fury, had committed the monks and knights of the Abbey to prison at Orleans. Should he brave the King's wrath, throw himself on the power of the Pope, and compel the King to submission? or was he tamely to surrender the rights of the Church? Louis, however, he found to his delight, had, after some thought, approved his election.

Suger abbot.

A.D. 1123.

From that time Suger became the first counsellor, if not the minister of the king. The Abbey of St. Denys was the centre of the affairs of France. The restless, all-watchful piety of St. Bernard took alarm at this secularisation of the holy foundation of St. Denys. He wrote a long, lofty rebuke to the abbot; he reproved his temporal pomp, his temporal business. "The abbey was thronged, not with holy recluses in continual prayer within the chapel, or on their knees within their narrow cells, but with mailed knights; even arms were seen within the hallowed walls. If that which was of Cæsar was given to Cæsar, that of God was not given to God." Suger himself had never thrown off the

St. Bernard.

[a] Les Nôtres. Suger, Vie de Louis le Gros, in Guizot's Mémoires. Siege of Theury. "Il avait ainsi, en quittant la vie, épargné une querelle aux Français et aux Romains."—Ibid.

severe monk; the king's minister lodged in a close cell, ten feet by fifteen; he performed with punctilious austerity all the outward duties, he indulged in all the minute self-tortures of his cloister. Throughout the rest of the reign of Louis the Fat, and the commencement of that of Louis the Young, during which the kingly power was gradually growing up in strength and authority, Suger ruled in the king's councils. When the irresistible eloquence of St. Bernard[a] swept Louis the Young, with the rest of Europe, to the Holy Land, Suger alone had the courage to oppose the abandonment of the royal duties in this wild enterprise: he opposed in vain. Yet by the unanimous voice Suger remained for two years chief of the regency; the Archbishop of Rouen and the Count of Vermandois held but a secondary authority. On the return of the king, the regent abbot could appeal in honest pride to his master, whether he had not maintained the realm in unwonted peace (the more turbulent barons had no doubt accompanied the king to the Holy Land), supplied him with ample means in money, in warlike stores, in men; his palaces and domains were in admirable state. The Regent yielded up his trust, the kingdom of France, in a better state than it had been during the reign of the Capets. Suger the statesman had endeavoured to dissuade the king from the crusade, but from no want of profound religious zeal. In his old age, at seventy years, the Abbot of St. Denys himself proposed to embark on a crusade: he would consecrate all his own wealth; he would persuade the bishops to devote their ample revenues to this holy cause; and thus the Church might conquer Jerusalem without

From 1147 to 1149.

[a] Read the whole of the 78th epistle.—Bernardi Opera.

loss or damage to the realm of France. Death cut short his holy design; he died the year before St. Bernard, who notwithstanding his rebuke, and the opposition to his views on the Holy Land, admired and loved the Abbot of St. Denys. It may be some further homage to the high qualities of Abbot Suger (without exalting him beyond the narrow sphere in which he moved), that after his death begins the feeble and inglorious part of the reign of Louis VII.—Louis himself sinks into a slave of superstition. Suger was an historian as well as a statesman; but he administered better than he wrote; though not without some graphic powers, his history is somewhat pompous, but without dignity; it has many of the monkish failings without their occasional beauty and simplicity.[b]

Jan. 13, 1152.

[b] See throughout Sugeri, Vit. Louis Gr., and the Life of Suger, in Latin in Bouquet, in French in Guizot's Collection des Mémoires

CHAPTER VII.

Hadrian IV.—Frederick Barbarossa.

In the same year with Bernard died the friend of Bernard, the Cistercian Pope, Eugenius III. He had returned to Italy after the departure of the crusade. He took up his abode, not at Rome, but at first at Viterbo, afterwards at Tusculum. There was a period of hostility, probably of open war, with the republic at Rome. But the temper or the policy of Eugenius led him to milder measures. The republic disclaimed not the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, and Eugenius scrupled not to enter the city only as its bishop, not as its Lord. The first time he remained not long, and retired into Campania;[a] the second time, the year before his death, the skilful and well-timed use of means more becoming the Head of Christendom than arms and excommunications, wrought wonders in his favour; by his gentleness, his lavish generosity, his magnificence (he built a palace near St. Peter's, another at Segni), and his charity, he was slowly supplanting the senate in the popular attachment; the fierce and intractable people were yielding to this gentler influence. Arnold of Brescia found his power gradually wasting away from the silent counter-working of the clergy, from the fickleness, perhaps the reasonable dis-

Nov. 30, 1148. April 8, 1149.

Nov. 28, 1149.

Dec. 9, 1152.

Sept. 7, 1152.

[a] He was at Alba, June; at Segni, October (?); Ferentino, November, December, part of 1152. Then again at Segni.—Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. He is also said to have recovered some parts of the papal domains. From whom?

appointment of the people, who yearned again for the glory and the advantage of being the religious capital of the world—the centre of pilgrimage, of curiosity, of traffic, of business, from all parts of the world. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz came in all their pomp and extravagance of expenditure to Rome; for the first time they were sent back with their treasures.[b] Eugenius, in the spirit of an ancient Roman, or a true Cistercian, refused their magnificent offerings, or rather their bribes. It may be questioned whether the republicans of Rome were the most sincere admirers of this unwonted contempt of riches shown by the Pope. The death of Eugenius alone preserved the republic from an earlier but less violent fate than it suffered at last.[c] He died at Tivoli, but his remains were received in Rome with the utmost respect, and buried in the Vatican. The fame of miraculous cures around his tomb showed how strong the Pope still remained in the affections and reverence of the common people.

July 7, 1153. Death of Eugenius.

The republic, true to its principles, did not, like the turbulent Roman nobles, or the heads of factions in the former century, interfere, either by force or intrigue, in the election of the Popes. The cardinals quietly raised Conrad, Bishop of Sabina, a Roman by birth, to the pontifical chair with the name of Anastasius IV. On the death of Anastasius, after, it should seem, a peaceful rule of one year and five months, the only Englishman who ever filled the papal chair was raised to the supremacy over Christendom.

Dec. 2, 1154.

Hadrian IV. Dec. 4, 1154.

[b] "Nova res. Quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit?"—Bernard. de Consid. iii. 3.

[c] "Et nisi esset mors æmula, quæ illum cito de medio rapuit, senatores noviter procreatos populi adminiculo usurpatâ dignitate privasset." — Romuald. Salern. in Chron.

Nicolas Breakspeare, born, according to one account, at St. Alban's,[d] wandered forth from his country in search of learning; he was received into a monastery at Arles; became a brother, prior, abbot. He went to Rome on the affairs of his community, and so won the favour of the Pope Eugenius that he was detained in his court, was raised to the cardinalate, undertook a mission as legate to Norway,[e] and, something in the character of the old English apostles of Germany, confirmed that hard-won kingdom in its allegiance to the see of Rome. Nicolas Breakspeare was a man of exemplary morals, high fame for learning, and great eloquence: and now the poor English scholar, homeless, except in the home which he found in the hospitable convent; friendless, except among the friends which he has made by his abilities, his virtues, and his piety; with no birth or connexions to advance his claims; is become the Head of Christendom—the Lord of Rome, which surrenders her liberties before his feet—the Pontiff from whose hands the mightiest and proudest Emperor is glad to receive his crown! What pride, what hopes, might such a promotion awaken in the lowest of the sacerdotal order throughout Christendom! In remote England not a youthful scholar but may have had visions of pontifical grandeur! This had been at all times wonderful, how much more so in the age of feudalism, in which the pride of birth was paramount!

[d] Cardinal Arragon in Vitâ. He was Bishop of Alba. Perhaps the notion of his birth at St. Alban's arose from his being called Albanus.

[e] Norway was slowly converted, not by preachers or bishops, but by her kings; by Harold the Fair-haired, Hacon Athelstan, Olaf Trigvesen—Saint Olaf—not with apostolic persuasion, but with the Mohammedan proselytism of the sword. And a strange, wild Christianity it was, worthy of its origin; but it softened down by degrees into Christianity.—See Bishop Münter, Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen, latter part of vol. i.

Nor did Hadrian IV. yield to any of his loftiest predecessors in his assertion of the papal dignity; he was surpassed by few in the boldness and courage with which he maintained it. The views of unlimited power which opened before the new pontiff appear most manifestly in his grant of Ireland to Henry II. of England. English pride might mingle with sacerdotal ambition in this boon of a new kingdom to his native sovereign. The language of the grant developed principles as yet unheard in Christendom. The Popes had assumed the feudal sovereignty of Naples and Sicily, as in some vague way the successors to the power of Imperial Rome. But Hadrian declared that Ireland and all islands converted to Christianity belonged to the special jurisdiction of St. Peter.[f] He assumed the right of sanctioning the invasion, on the ground of its advancing civilisation and propagating a purer faith among the barbarous and ignorant people. The tribute of Peter's pence from the conquered island was to be the reward of the Pope's munificence in granting the island to the English, and his recognition of Henry's sovereignty. The prophetic ambition of Hadrian might seem to have anticipated the time, when on such principles the Popes should assume the power of granting away new worlds.

Grant of Ireland. A.D. 1155.

But Hadrian had first to bring rebellious Rome under his sway. The mild measures of Pope Eugenius had undermined the power of Arnold of Brescia. Hadrian had the courage to confront him with open hostility. He vouchsafed no answer to the haughty demands of

[f] "Sanè Hiberniam et omnes insulas, quibus Sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ receperunt, ad jus B. Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit, non est dubium pertinere."—Rymer, Fœdera, i. 19; Wilkins, Concil. i. 426; Radulf de Diceto.

the republic to recognise its authority; he pronounced sentence of banishment from the city against Arnold himself. Arnold denied the power of the Pope to issue such sentence. But an opportunity soon occurred in which Hadrian, without exceeding his spiritual power, bowed the whole rebellious people under his feet. The Cardinal of San Pudenziana, on his way to the Pope, who was in the palace raised on the Vatican by Eugenius III., encountered a tumult of the populace, and received a mortal wound. Hadrian instantly placed the whole city under an interdict. Rome for the first time was deprived of all its religious ceremonies. No procession moved through the silent streets; the people thronged around the closed doors of the churches; the clergy, their functions entirely suspended, had nothing to do but to inflame the minds of the populace. Easter was drawing on; no mass could atone for, no absolution release them from their sins. Religion triumphed over liberty. The clergy and the people compelled the senate to yield. Hadrian would admit of no lower terms than the abrogation of the republican institutions; the banishment of Arnold and his adherents. The republic was at an end, Arnold an exile; the Pope again master in Rome.

Rome under interdict.

Easter, March 27, 1155.

Fall of the republic.

But all this time great events were passing in the north of Italy; events which, however in some respects menacing to Pope Hadrian, might encourage him in his inflexible hostility to the republicans of Rome.[g] On the death of Conrad, Germany with one consent had

[g] Compare the curious account given by John of Salisbury of conversations with Pope Hadrian, with whom, on account probably of his English connexions, he may have been on intimate terms. The condition of the Pope is

placed the crown on the head of the great Hohenstaufen prince, his nephew, Frederick Barbarossa. If the Papacy under Hadrian had resumed all its haughty authority, the Empire was wielded with a terrible force, which it had hardly ever displayed before. Frederick was a prince of intrepid valour, consummate prudence, unmeasured ambition, justice which hardened into severity, the ferocity of a barbarian somewhat tempered with a high chivalrous gallantry; above all with a strength of character which subjugated alike the great temporal and ecclesiastical princes of Germany; and was prepared to assert the imperial rights in Italy to the utmost. Of the constitutional rights of the Emperor, of his unlimited supremacy, his absolute independence of, his temporal superiority over, all other powers, even that of the Pope, Frederick proclaimed the loftiest notions. He was to the Empire what Hildebrand and Innocent were to the popedom. His power was of God alone; to assert that it is bestowed by the successor of St. Peter was a lie, and directly contrary to the doctrine of St. Peter.[h]

Frederick Barbarossa.

In the autumn of the year of Hadrian's accession

most laborious, is most miserable. "Si enim avaritiæ servit, mors ei est. Sin autem, non effugiet manus et linguas Romanorum. Nisi enim noscat unde obstruat eorum ora manusque cohibeat, ad flagitia et sacrilegia perferenda omnes oculos duret et animam . . . . nisi servirent, aut ex-Pontificem, aut ex-Romanum esse necesse est."—Polycratic L. viii. p. 324 and 366, edit. Giles.

h "Quum per electionem principum a solo Deo regnum et imperium nostrum sit, qui in passione Christi filii sui duobus gladiis necessariis regendum orbem subjecit, quumque Petrus Apostolus hâc doctrinâ mundum informaverit: Deum timete, regem honorificate; quicunque nos imperialem coronam pro beneficio a domino Papa suscepisse dixerit, divinæ institutioni et doctrinæ Petri contrarius est et mendacii reus est."—Otho Freisingen, apud Muratori, vi. 709. Compare Eichhorn on the Constitution of the Empire, from the Swabische Spiegel, and the Sachsische Spiegel, ii. pp. 364. et seq.

Frederick descended the Alps by the valley of the Trent. Never had a more imposing might assembled around any of his predecessors than around Frederick on the plains of Roncaglia. He came to receive the iron crown of Italy from the Lombards, the imperial crown from the Pope at Rome. He had summoned all the feudatories of the Empire, all the feudatories of Italy, to his banner, declaring himself determined to enforce the forfeiture of their fiefs if they refused to obey. The Bishops of Crema and of Halberstadt were deprived, as contumacious, for their lives, of their temporalities.[i] The great prelates of Germany, instead of fomenting disturbances in the Empire, were in the army of Frederick. The Archbishops of Cologne and Mentz were at the head of their vassals. The Lombard cities, most of which had now become republics, hastened to send their deputies to acknowledge their fealty. The Marquis of Montferrat appeared, it is said, the only ruling prince in the north of Italy. Pavia, Genoa, Lodi, Crema, vied in their loyalty; even haughty Milan, which had trampled under foot Frederick's mandate commanding peace with Lodi, sent her consuls.[k] The Duke Guelf of Bavaria, under the protection of the Emperor, took quiet possession of the domains of the Countess Matilda;[m] it was no time for the Pope even to enter a protest. Frederick appeared with the iron crown in the Church of St. Michael at Pavia.[n] There was just resistance enough to show the terrible power, the inflexible determination of Frederick. At the persuasion of faithful Pavia, Frederick laid siege to

End of November, 1154.

[i] Muratori, Ann. d' Italia sub ann.

[k] Von Raumer, p. 18; Geschichte der Hohenstaufen, viii. 8.

[m] Frederick's first descent into Italy is fully and clearly related by Von Raumer.

[n] April 17, 1155. Muratori, sub

Tortona: notwithstanding the bravest resistance, the city fell through famine and thirst.[o] Frederick now directed his march to the south.

Hadrian had watched all the movements of Frederick with jealous apprehension. The haughty King had not yet declared his disposition towards the Church; nor was it known with certainty whether he would take part with the people of Rome or with their Pontiff.

June 1, 1155.

Hadrian was at Viterbo with the leaders of his party, the Frangipani, and Peter the prefect of the city. He sent forward an embassy of three cardinals, S. John and S. Paul, S. Pudenziana, S. Maria in Portico, who met Frederick at San Quirico. Among the first articles which the Pope enforced on the Emperor as the price of his coronation was the surrender of Arnold of Brescia into his hands. The Emperor and the Pope were united by the bonds of common interest and common dread and hatred of republicanism. Hadrian wanted the aid of Frederick to suppress the still powerful and now rallying faction in Rome. Frederick received the Imperial crown from the hands of the Pope to ratify his unlimited sovereignty over the contumacious cities of Lombardy. Arnold of Brescia had struck boldly at both powers; he utterly annulled the temporal supremacy of the Pope; and if he acknowledged, reduced the sovereignty of the Emperor to a barren title.[p]

Seizure and execution of Arnold.

To a man so merciless and contemptuous of human life as Barbarossa, the sacrifice of a turbulent demagogue, guilty of treason alike to the temporal and spiritual power, was a light thing indeed.

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[o] Gunther, iii.; Otho Freisingen, ii. 20.

[p] "Nil juris in hac re
Pontifici summo, *modicum* concedere regi
Suadebat populo: sic læsâ stultus utrâque
Majestate, reum geminæ se præbuit aulæ."
Gunther, iii. 333.

Arnold had fled from Rome, doubtful and irresolute as to his future course; his splendid dreams had vanished, the faithless soil had crumbled under his feet. In Otricoli he had met Gerhard, Cardinal of St. Nicolas, who took him prisoner. He had been rescued by some one of the viscounts of Campania, his partisans, perhaps nobles, who held papal estates by grants from the republic. By them he was honoured as a prophet.[q] Frederick sent his officers, who seized one of these Campanian nobles and compelled the surrender of Arnold: he was carried to Rome, committed to the custody of Peter, prefect of the city, who held for the Pope the castle of St. Angelo. No time was to be lost. He had been, even till within a short time, an object of passionate attachment to the people; there might be an insurrection of the people for his rescue. If he were reserved for the arrival of Frederick at Rome, what change might be wrought by his eloquence before the Imperial tribunal, by the offers of his republican friends, by the uncertain policy of Frederick, who might then consider the demagogue an useful control upon the Pope! The Church took upon itself the summary condemnation, the execution, of the excommunicated rebel. The execution was despatched with such haste, perhaps secrecy, that even at the time various rumours as to the mode and place of punishment were spread abroad. In one point alone all are agreed, that Arnold's ashes, lest the foolish people should worship the martyr of their liberties, were cast into the Tiber.[r] The Church had

[q] "Tanquam prophetam in terrâ suâ cum omni honore habebant."—Acta Hadriani in Cod. Vaticano apud Baronium.

[r] Sismondi, whom Von Raumer has servilely followed, gives a dramatic description of the execution before the Porta del Popolo; of Arnold looking down all the three streets which converge from that gate; of the sleeping

been wont to call in the temporal sword to shed the blood of man: the capital punishment of Arnold was, by the judgement of the clergy, executed by the officer of the Pope; even some devout churchmen shuddered when they could not deny that the blood of Arnold of Brescia was on the Church.

The sacrifice of human life had been offered; but the treaty which it was to seal between the Emperor and the Pope was delayed by mutual suspicion. Their embassies had led to misunderstanding and jealousy. Hadrian was alarmed at the haughty tone, the hasty movements of Frederick; he could not be ignorant that at the news of his advance to Rome the republicans had rallied and sent proposals to the Emperor; he could not but conjecture the daring nature of those propositions. He would not trust himself in the power of Frederick; as the German advanced towards Rome

people awakened by the tumult of the execution, and the glare of the flames from the pile on which his remains were burned, rising too late to the rescue, and gathering the ashes as relics. All this is pure fiction: neither the Cardinal of Arragon, nor Otho of Freisingen, nor Gunther, nor the wretched verses of Godfrey of Viterbo, have one word of it. Gunther and Otho of Freisingen affix him to a cross, and burn him.

"*Judicio cleri* nostro sub principe victus,
Adpensusque cruci, flammâque cremante solutus
In cineres, Tiberine, tuas est sparsus in undas.
Ne stolidæ plebis, quem fecerat, improbus error,
Martyris ossa novo cineresve foveret honore."—*Gunther*.

Anselm of Gemblours and Godfrey of Viterbo say that he was hanged. Gunther may mean by his crux a simple gallows: "Strangulat hunc laqueus, ignis et unda vehunt." But the most remarkable account is that of Gerohus de Investigatione Antichristi (on Gerohus see Fabricius, Bibliotheca Lat. Med. Ætat. iii. p. 47): "Arnoldus pro doctrinâ suâ non solum ab ecclesiâ Dei anathematis mucrone separatus insuper etiam suspendio neci traditus atque in Tyberim projectus est, ne videlicet Romanus populus, quem suâ doctrinâ illexerat, sibi eum martyrem dedicaret. Quem ego vellem pro tali doctrinâ suâ, quamvis pravâ, vel exilio, vel carcere, aut aliâ pœnâ præter mortem punitum esse, vel saltem taliter occisum, ut Romana Ecclesia, seu curia ejus necis quæstione careret." The whole remarkable passage in Franke Arnold von Brescia, p. 193, and Nicolini's Notes, p. 375.

Hadrian continued to retire. The deputation from the Roman republic encountered Barbarossa on the Roman side of Sutri. Their lofty language showed how deeply and completely they were intoxicated with the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia: they seemed fondly to hope that they should find in Frederick a more powerful Arnold; that by some scanty concessions of title and honour they should hardly yield up their independence upon the Empire and secure entirely their independence of the Pope.[s] They congratulated Frederick on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Rome, if he came in peace, and with the intent to deliver them for ever from the degrading yoke of the clergy. They ascribed all the old Roman glory, the conquest of the world, to the senate of Rome, of whom they were the representatives; they intimated that it was condescension on their part to bestow the imperial crown on a Transalpine stranger—"that which is ours of right we grant to thee;" they commanded him to respect their ancient institutions and laws, to protect them against barbarian violence, to pay five thousand pounds of silver to their officers as a largess for their acclamations in the Capitol, to maintain the republic even by bloodshed, to confirm their privileges by a solemn oath and by the Imperial signature. Frederick suppressed for a time his kingly, contemptuous indignation. He condescended in a long harangue to relate the transference of the Roman Empire to Charlemagne and his descendants. At its close he turned fiercely round. "Look at my Teutonic nobles, my banded chivalry. These are the patricians, these are the true Romans: this is the senate invested in perpetual autho

Romans meet Frederick.

[s] *Otho Freisingen, ii. 21. Gunther, iii. 450.*

rity. To what laws do you presume to appeal but those which I shall be pleased to enact? Your only liberty is to render allegiance to your sovereign."

The crest-fallen republicans withdrew in brooding indignation and wounded pride to the city. It was now the turn of Hadrian to ascertain what reception he would meet with from the Emperor. From Nepi Hadrian rode to the camp of Frederick in the territory of Sutri. He was met with courteous respect by some of the German nobles, and escorted towards the royal tent. But he waited in vain for the Emperor to come forth and hold his stirrup as he alighted from his horse.[t] The affrighted cardinals turned back and did not rest till they reached Civita Castellana. The Pope remained with a few attendants and dismounted: then came forth Frederick, bowed to kiss his feet, and offered himself to receive the kiss of peace. The intrepid Pope refused to comply till the king should have shown every mark of respect usual from former emperors to his predecessors: he withdrew from before the tent. The dispute lasted the whole following day. Frederick at last allowed himself to be persuaded by the precedents alleged, and went to Nepi, where the Pope had pitched his camp. The Emperor dismounted, held the stirrup of Hadrian, and assisted him to alight.[u] Their common interests soon led at least to outward amity. The coronation of Frederick as Emperor by the Pope could not but give great weight to his title in the estimation of Christendom, and Hadrian's unruly subjects could only be controlled by the strong

June 9.

June 11, 1155.

[t] Otho Freisingen, ii. 21. Helmold, i. 80.

[u] "Imperator—descendit eo viso de equo, et officium stratoris implevit et streugam ipsius tenuit, et tunc primo eum ad osculum dominus Papa recepit."—Cod. Cencii. Carn. apud Muratori. Antiquit., M. A. i. 117.

hand of the Emperor. By the advice of Hadrian Frederick made a rapid march, took possession of the Leonine city and the church of St. Peter. The next day he was met on the steps of the church by the Pope, and received the crown from his hands amid the acclamations of the army. The Romans on the other side of the Tiber were enraged beyond measure at their total exclusion from all assent or concern in the coronation. They had expected and demanded a great largess; they had not even been admitted as spectators of the pompous ceremony. They met in the Capitol, crossed the bridge, endeavoured to force their passage to St. Peter's, and slew a few of the miserable attendants whom they found on their way. But Frederick was too watchful a soldier to be surprised: the Germans met them, slew 1000, took 200 prisoners, whom he released on the interposition of the Pope.[x]

June 18.

Coronation of the Emperor.

But want of provisions compelled the Emperor to retire with the Pope to Tivoli; there, each in their apparel of state, the Pope celebrated mass and gave the holy Eucharist to the Emperor on St. Peter's day. The inhospitable climate began to make its usual ravages in the German army: Frederick, having achieved his object, after the capture and sacking of Spoleto, and some negotiations with the Byzantine ambassadors, retired beyond the Alps.[y]

Hadrian was thus, if abandoned by the protecting

[x] The Bishop is seized with a fit of martial enthusiasm, and expresses vividly the German contempt for the Romans. "Cerneres nostros tam immaniter quam audacter Romanos cædendo sternere, sternendo cædere, ac si dicerent, accipe nunc Roma pro auro Arabico Teutonicum ferrum. Hæc est pecunia quam tibi princeps tuus pro tuâ offert coronâ. Sic emitur a Francis Imperium."—Otho Freisingen, ii. 22.

[y] He was in Verona early in Sept.—Von Raumer, Reg. p. 531.

power, relieved from the importunate presence of the Emperor. The rebellious spirit of Rome seemed to have been crushed; the temporal sovereignty restored to the Pope. He began to bestow kingdoms, and by such gifts to bind to his interests the old allies of the pontificate more immediately at hand[z]—allies, if his Roman subjects should break out into insurrection, though less powerful, more submissive than the Imperialists. Hadrian had at first maintained, he now abandoned, the cause of the barons of Apulia, who were in arms against the King of Sicily. His first act had been to excommunicate that king; now, at Benevento, William received from the hands of the Pope the investiture of the kingdom of Sicily, of the dukedom of Apulia, of the principalities of Capua, Naples, Salerno, and Amalfi, and some other territories. William bound himself to fealty to the Pope, to protect him against all his enemies, to pay a certain tribute annually for Apulia and Calabria, and for the March.

Hadrian's alliance with King of Sicily.

June 9, 1156.

The Emperor Frederick had aspired to be as absolute over the whole of Italy as of Germany. Hadrian had even entered into an alliance with him against Sicily; the invasion of that kingdom had only been postponed on account of the state of the Imperial army and the necessary retirement of the Emperor beyond the Alps. In this Sicilian alliance Frederick saw at once treachery, ingratitude, hostility.[a] It betrayed a leaning to Italian independence, the growth and confederation with Rome of a power inimical to his own. William of Sicily had overrun the whole kingdom of Apulia; it was again

[z] At San Germano (Oct. 1155) he had received the homage of Robert, Prince of Capua, and the other princes. Cardin. Arragon. *loc. cit.*

[a] Marangoni Chronic. Pisan. (Archivio Storico, vol. vi. p. 2), p. 16.

Italian: yet fully occupied by the affairs of Germany, the Emperor's only revenge was an absolute prohibition to all German ecclesiastics to journey to Rome, to receive the confirmation of their ecclesiastical dignities, or on any other affairs. This measure wounded the pride of Rome; it did more, it impoverished her. It cut off a large part of that revenue which she drew from the whole of Christendom. The haughty jealousy betrayed by this arbitrary act was aggravated by a singular incident. Frederick was holding a Diet of more than usual magnificence at Besançon; he was there asserting his sovereignty over another of the kingdoms of Charlemagne, that of Burgundy. From all parts of the world, from Rome, Apulia, Venice, Lombardy, France, England, and Spain, persons were assembled, either for curiosity or for traffic, to behold the pomp of the new Charlemagne, or to profit by the sumptuous expenditure of the Emperor and his superb magnates. The legates of the Pope, Roland the Chancellor Cardinal of St. Mark, and Bernard Cardinal of St. Clement, presented themselves; they were received with courtesy. The letters which they produced were read and interpreted by the Chancellor of the Empire. Even the opening address to the Emperor was heard with some astonishment. "The Pope and the cardinals of the Roman Church salute you; he as a father, they as brothers." The imperious tone of the letter agreed with this beginning. It reproved the Emperor for his culpable negligence in not immediately punishing some of his subjects who had waylaid and imprisoned the Swedish Bishop of Lunden on his journey to Rome; it reminded Frederick of his favourable reception by the Pope in Italy, and that the Pope had bestowed on him the Imperial crown. "The Pope had

Diet at Besançon. Oct. 24, 1157.

Conduct of Papal legates.

not repented of his munificence nor would repent, even if he had bestowed greater favours." The ambiguous word used for favours, "beneficia," was taken in its feudal sense by the fierce and ignorant nobles. They supposed it meant that the Empire was held as a fief from the Pope. Those who had been at Rome remembered the arrogant lines which had been placed under the picture of the Emperor Lothair at the feet of the Pope, doing homage to him as his vassal.[b] Indignant murmurs broke from the assembly; the strife was exasperated by the words of the dauntless Cardinal Roland, "Of whom, then, does he hold the Empire but of our Lord the Pope?" The Count Palatine, Otho of Wittlesbach, drew his sword to cut down the audacious ecclesiastic. The authority of Frederick with difficulty appeased the tumult and saved the lives of the legates.

Frederick, in a public manifesto, appealed to the Empire against the insolent pretensions of the Pope.[c] He accused Hadrian of wantonly stirring up hostility between the Church and the Empire. His address asserted (no doubt to bind the Transalpine clergy to his cause) that blank billets had been found on the legates empowering them to despoil the churches of the Empire and to carry away their treasures, even their sacred vessels and crosses, to Rome.[d] He issued an edict pro-

b "Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores,
Post homo fit Papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."

c Radevic. i. 8, 10. Gunther, vi. 800. Concil. sub ann. 1157.

Jam non ferre crucem domini, sed tradere regna
Gaudet, et Augustus mavult quam præsul haberi."—*Gunther.*

So taunted Frederick the ambition of the Pope.

d "Porro quia multa paria litterarum apud eos reperta sunt, et schedulæ sigillatæ ad arbitrium eorum adhuc scribendæ (sicut hactenus consuetudinis eorum fuit) per singulas ecclesias Teutonici regni conceptum iniquitatis suæ virus respergere, *altaria denudare*, *vasa domûs* Dei asportare, cruces ex-

hibiting the clergy from all access to the apostolic see, and gave instructions that the frontiers should be carefully watched lest any of them should find their way to Rome. Hadrian published an address to the bishops of the Empire, bitterly complaining of the blasphemies uttered by the Chancellor Rainald and the Count Palatine against the legates, of the harsh proceedings of the Emperor, but without disclaiming the ambiguous sense of the offensive word; he claimed their loyal support for the successor of St. Peter and the holy Roman Church. But the bishops had now for the most part become German princes rather than papal churchmen. They boldly declared, or at least assented to the Emperor's declaration of the supremacy of the Empire over the Church and demanded that the offensive picture of Lothair doing homage to the Pope should be effaced, the insulting verses obliterated.[c] They even hinted their disapprobation of Hadrian's treaty with the King of Sicily, and in respectful but firm language entreated the Pope to assume a more gentle and becoming tone.

The triumphant progress of Frederick's ambassadors, Rainald the Chancellor of the Empire and Otho Palatine of Bavaria, through Northern Italy, with the formidable preparations for the Emperor's own descent during the next year, had no doubt more effect in bringing back the Pope to less unseemly conduct. In the camp at Augsburg appeared the new legates, the Cardinal of St. Nireus and Achilleus, and the Cardinal Hyacinth (who had been seized, plundered, and imprisoned by some

coriare nitebantur." This charge appears in the Rescript of Frederick in Radevicus. If untrue, it boldly calculated on as much ignorance in his clergy as had been shown by the laity. But what was the ground of the charge? Some taxation, ordinary or extraordinary, of the clergy? — Radevic. Chron. apud Pistorium, i. 10.

[c] Radevic. ii. 31.

petty chieftains in the Tyrol). They had authority to explain away the doubtful terms, to disclaim all pretensions on the part of the Pope to consider the Empire a benefice of the Church, or to make a grant of the Empire. Frederick accepted the overtures, and an outward reconciliation took place.

Explanations of Hadrian. Jan. 29, 1158

The next year Frederick descended for the second time into Italy. Never had so powerful a Teutonic army, not even in his first campaign, crossed the Alps. The several roads were choked by the contingents from every part of the Empire; all Germany seemed to be discharging itself upon the plains of Italy. The Dukes of Austria and Carinthia descended the pass of Friuli; Duke Frederick of Swabia, the Emperor's nephew, by Chiavenna and the Lake of Como; Duke Bernard of Zahringen by the Great St. Bernard; the Emperor himself marched down the valley of Trent. At first his successes and his cruelties carried all before him. He compelled the submission of Milan; the haughty manner in which he asserted the Imperial rights, the vast army with which he enforced those rights, the merciless severity with which he visited all treasonable resistance, seemed to threaten the ruin of all which remained either of the temporal or spiritual independence of Italy.[f] He seemed determined, he avowed his determination, to rule the clergy like all the rest of his subjects; to compel their homage for all their temporal possessions; to exact all the Imperial dues, to be, in fact as well as in theory, their feudal sovereign. He enforced the award already made of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda to his uncle Guelf VI. of Bavaria.

July, 1158.

[f] Radevic. i. 26. Gunther, vii. 220. Almost all the German chronicles.

Slight indications betrayed the growing jealousy and alienation of the Emperor and the Pope. These two august sovereigns seemed to take delight in galling each other by petty insults, but each of these insults had a deeper significance.[g] Guido, of a noble German house, the Counts of Blandrada, was elected, if through the Imperial interest yet according to canonical forms, to the Archiepiscopate of Ravenna, once the rival, now next to Rome in wealth and state. Guido was subdeacon of the Roman Church, and Hadrian refused to permit the translation, under the courteous pretext that he could not part with so beloved a friend, whose promotion in the Church of Rome was his dearest object. Hadrian soon after sent a letter to the Emperor, couched in moderate language, but complaining with bland bitterness of disrespect shown to his legates; of the insolence of the imperial troops, who gathered forage in the Papal territories and insulted the castles of the Pope; of the exaction of the same homage from bishops and abbots as from the cities and nobles of Italy. This letter was sent by a common, it was said a ragged messenger, who disappeared without waiting for an answer. The Emperor revenged himself by placing his own name in his reply before that of the Pope, and by addressing him in the familiar singular instead of the respectful plural, a style which the Popes had assumed when addressing the Emperor, and which Frederick declared to be an usurpation on their part.[h]

Jealousy of Emperor and Pope.

Nov. 24, 1158.

Letter of Hadrian.

Hadrian's next letter showed how deep the wound had sunk. "The law of God promises long life to those who honour, threatens death to those

June 24.

g Radevic. ii. 15, 20. Gunther, ix. 115.

h Appendix ad Radev. 562.

who speak evil of their father and their mother. He that exalteth himself shall be abased. My son in the Lord (such is the endearing name which Hadrian uses to convict the Emperor of a breach of the divine commandment), we wonder at your irreverence. This mode of address incurs the guilt of insolence, if not of arrogance. What shall I say of the fealty sworn to St. Peter and to us? How dost thou show it? By demanding homage of bishops, who are Gods, and the Saints of the Most High; thou that makest them place their consecrated hands in yours! Thou that closest not merely the churches, but the cities of thy empire against our legates! We warn thee to be prudent. If thou hast deserved to be consecrated and crowned by our hands, by seeking more than we have granted, thou mayest forfeit that which we have condescended to grant." This was not language to soften a temper like Frederick's: his rejoinder rises to scorn and defiance. He reminds the Pope of the humble relation of Silvester to Constantine; all that the Popes possess is of the gracious liberality of the Emperors. He reverts to higher authority, and significantly alludes to the tribute paid by our Lord himself, through St. Peter, to Cæsar. "The churches are closed, the city gates will not open to the Cardinals, because they are not preachers, but robbers; not peacemakers, but plunderers; not the restorers of the world, but greedy rakers up of gold.[1] When we shall see them, as the Church enjoins, bringing peace, enlightening the land, maintaining the cause of the lowly in justice, we shall not hesitate to provide them with fitting entertainment

Answer of Frederick. A.D. 1159.

[1] "Quod non videmus eos prædicatores sed prædatores, non pacis corroboratores sed pecuniæ raptores, non orbis reparatores sed auri insatiabiles corrasores."—Append. Radevic.

and allowances."—"We cannot but return such answer when we find that detestable monster 'pride' to have crept up to the very chair of St. Peter. As ye are for peace, so may ye prosper."[k]

Some of the German bishops, especially Eberhard of Bamberg, endeavoured to mediate and avert the threatened conflict. The Emperor consented to receive four Cardinals. They brought a pacific proposition, but accompanied with demands which amounted to hardly less than the unqualified surrender of the Imperial rights. I. The first involved the absolute dominion of the city of Rome. The Emperor was to send no officer to act in his name within the city without permission of the Pope; the whole magistracy of the city and all the royalties being the property of the Apostolic See. II. No forage was to be levied in the Papal territories, excepting on occasion of the Emperor's coronation. His armies were thus prohibited from crossing the Papal frontier. III. The Bishops of Italy were to swear allegiance, but not do homage to the Emperor. IV. The ambassadors of the Emperor were not to be lodged of right in the episcopal palaces. V. The possessions of the Church of Rome to be restored, the whole domains of the Countess Matilda, the territory from Acquapendente to Rome, the Duchy of Spoleto, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia; the Emperor to pay tribute for Ferrara, Massa, Ficoloro.

Terms proposed by the Pope.

Frederick commanded his temper: such grave matters, he said, required the advice of his wisest counsellors; but on some points he would answer at once. He would

[k] "Non enim non possumus respondere auditis, cum superbiæ detestabilem bestiam usque ad sedem Petri reptasse videmus. Paci bene consulentes bene semper valete."—Apud Baronium, sub ann. 1159.

require no homage of the bishops if they would give up the fiefs which they held of the Empire. If they chose to listen to the Pope when he demanded what they had to do with the Emperor, they must submit to the commands of the Emperor, or what had they to do with the estates of the Empire? He would not require that his Ambassadors should be lodged in the episcopal palaces when those palaces stood on their own lands; if they stood on the lands of the Empire, they were imperial, not episcopal palaces. "For the city of Rome, by the grace of God I am Emperor of Rome: if Rome be entirely withdrawn from my authority, the Empire is an idle name, the mockery of a title." Nor were these the only subjects of altercation. The Emperor complained of the intrusion of the Papal Legates into the Empire without his permission, the abuse of appeals, the treaties of the Pope with the Greek Empire and with the King of Sicily; above all, his clandestine dealings with the insurgents, now in arms in Lombardy. He significantly intimated that if he could not make terms with the Pope, he might with the Senate and people of Rome.

Peace became more hopeless. As a last resource, six Cardinals on the part of the Pope, and six German Bishops on that of the Emperor, were appointed to frame a treaty. But the Pope demanded the re-establishment of the compact made with his predecessor Eugenius. The Imperial Bishops reproached the Pope with his own violation of that treaty by his alliance with the King of Sicily; the Germans unanimously rejected the demands of the Pope: and now the Emperor received with favour a deputation from the Senate and people of Rome. These ambassadors of the Republican party had watched, had

Firmness of Hadrian.

been present at the rupture of the negotiations.[m] The Pope, with the embers of Arnold's rebellion smouldering under his feet; with the Emperor at the head of all Germany, the prelates as well as the princes; with no ally but the doubtful, often perfidious Norman; stood unshaken, betrayed no misgivings. To the Emperor no reply from the Pope appears; but to the Archbishops of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne, was sent, or had before been sent, an invective against the Emperor, almost unequalled in scorn, defiance, and unmeasured assertion of superiority. There is no odious name in the Old Testament—Rabshakeh, Achitophel—which is not applied to Frederick. "Glory be to God in the highest, that ye are found tried and faithful (he seems to reckon on their disloyalty to Frederick), while these flies of Pharaoh, which swarmed up from the bottom of the abyss, and, driven about by the whirling winds while they strive to darken the sun, are turned to the dust of the earth." He threatens the Emperor with a public excommunication: "And take ye heed that ye be not involved in the sins of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin; and behold a worse than Jeroboam is here. Was not the Empire transferred by the Popes from the Greeks to the Teutons? The King of the Teutons is not Emperor before he is consecrated by the Pope. Before his consecration he is but King; after it Emperor and Augustus. From whence, then, the Empire but from us? Remember what were these Teutonic Kings before Zacharias gave his benediction to Charles, the second of that name, who were drawn in a wagon by

[m] "Præsentes ibidem fuere Romanorum civium legati, qui cum indignatione mirabantur super his quæ audierant."—Epist. Eberhard Bamberg, ap. Radevicum, ii. 31.

oxen, like philosophers![n] Glorious kings, who dwelt, like the chiefs of synagogues, in these wagons, while the Mayor of the Palace administered the affairs of the Empire. Zacharias I. promoted Charles to the Empire, and gave him a name great above all names. . . . That which we have bestowed on the faithful German we may take away from the disloyal German. Behold it is in our power to grant to whom we will. For this reason are we placed above nations and kingdoms, that we may destroy and pluck up, build and plant. So great is the power of Peter, that whatsoever is done by us worthily and rightfully must be believed to be done by God!"[o]

Did the bold sagacity of Hadrian foresee the heroic resolution with which Milan and her confederate Lombard cities would, many years afterwards, and after some dire reverses and long oppression, resist the power of Barbarossa? Did he calculate with prophetic foresight the strength of Lombard republican freedom? Did he anticipate the field of Legnano, when the whole force of the Teutonic Empire was broken before the carroccio of Milan? Already was the secret treaty framed with Milan, Brescia, and Crema. These cities bound themselves not to make peace with the Emperor without the consent of the Pope and his Catholic successors. Hadrian was preparing for the last act of

[n] "Qui in carpento boum, sicut *philosophi* circumferebantur."

[o] Hahn. Monumenta, i. p. 122. The date is March 19, 1159, from the Lateran palace. The date may be wrong, yet the bull authentic. Jaffé, I must observe, rejects it as spurious. This invective is reprinted in Pertz from a MS. formerly belonging to the Abbey of Malmedy. It appears there as an answer to a letter of Archbishop Hillin of Treves (published before in Hontheim, Hist. Trev. i. 581). Possibly I may have misplaced it.—Pertz, Archiv. iv. pp. 428-434. Boehmer seems to receive it as authentic, but as belonging to a period in which Frederick Barbarossa actually contemplated throwing off the Roman supremacy.—Preface to Regesta, p. vii.

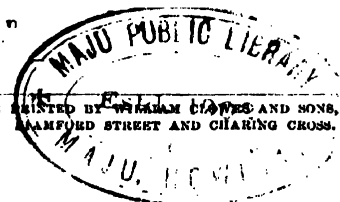
defiance, the open declaration of war, the excommunication of the Emperor, which he was pledged to pronounce after the signature of the treaty with the Republics, when his death put an end to this strange conflict, where each antagonist was allied with a republican party in the heart of his adversary's dominions.

Sept. 1, 1159.

Hadrian IV. died at Anagni: his remains were brought to Rome, and interred with the highest honours, and with the general respect if not the grief of the city, in the Church of St. Peter. Even the ambassadors of Frederick were present at the funeral. So ended the poor English scholar, at open war with perhaps the mightiest sovereign who had reigned in Transalpine Europe since Charlemagne.[p]

[p] Radev. apud Muratori, Pars ii. p. 83. John of Salisbury reports another very curious conversation which he held with Hadrian IV. during a visit of three months at Benevento. John spoke strongly on the venality of Rome, and urged the popular saying, that Rome was not the mother but the stepmother of the churches; the sale of justice, purchase of preferments, and other abuses. "Ipse Romanus Pontifex omnibus gravis et pæne intolerabilis est?" The Pope smiled; "And what do you think?" John spoke handsomely of some of the Roman clergy as inaccessible to bribery, acknowledged the difficulty of the Pope in dealing with his Roman subjects, "dum frenas alios, et tu gravius opprimeris." The Pope concluded with the old fable of the belly and members.—Polycraticus, vi. 24. John of Salisbury asserts that Hadrian was induced by his suggestion to the cession of Ireland to Henry II. — Compare Döllinger Die Papst Fabeln des Mittelalters, p. 79.

END OF VOL. IV.



LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, LIMITED, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.